KURDISH AND ARMENIAN RELATIONS IN THE OTTOMAN-KURDISH PRESS (1898-1914)

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ABSTRACT

This thesis will focus on two Kurdish newspapers, two journals and one pamphlet from the late Ottoman period and their writers' approaches about Armenians. First of all the thesis will discuss the issues of collective identity and multiple identities in the empire and the process of formation of the Kurdish identity in that era, as collective belonging (the consciousness of being a different group had started in the late empire from the 1880s to the end of WWI). In my thesis I will mention that the proto-Kurdish nationalism initially began against Armenians then it rose up against the Ottoman Empire and Turkish nationalism.

This thesis will follow the historical background and analyze the following: *Kurdistan newspaper*, the pamphlet titled *Kürdistan Kıyamı (*Kurdistan Rebellion) and *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi* **(**The Kurdish Solidarity and Progress Newspaper*), Rojî Kurd* (Kurdish Sun) and *Hetawî Kurd* (Kurdish Sun) periodicals. All of these publications have different perspectives regarding the Armenian people and/or the Armenian question, and the problematization of a homeland between two societies, namely the Kurds and the Armenians. I will also discuss the relationship between the Kurdish and the Armenians through the Kurdish intellectuals' collective identities (Ottomanness, Islam, and Kurdishness). This thesis however is unfortunately one-sided and is solely based on the study of the Kurdish intellectuals' approach (not including the Armenian intellectuals approach) regarding Armenian slaughters, the question of land, and the alliance with the state or with Armenians.

ÖZET

Bu tez Kürt entelektüellerinin geç Osmanlı döneminde çıkardıkları iki gazete, iki dergi ve bir broşürde Ermeniler hakkında yazdıklarına odaklanacaktır. Öncelikli olarak tez, kimlik, çoklu kimlikler ve Kürt aydınlarının kimlik oluşumunu; kolektif aidiyet ve farklı bir grup olarak ortaya çıkmalarını, *Kürdistan* gazetesinin çıkışından Birinci Dünya Savaşının başlangıcına kadarki dönemi (1898-1914) ele alacaktır. Yine tez, bu dönemi proto-Kürt milliyetçiliğinin oluştuğu dönem olarak adlandırmaktadır ve bu ilk milliyetçi karakterin ortaya çıkışı kurgulanırken, Kürt entelektüellerince 'ötekiler' olarak ilk kodlanan grubun Ermeniler olduğunu, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Türk milliyetçiliğinin ise daha sonra 'ötekiler' kategorisine dâhil olduğunu iddia etmektedir.

Diğer yandan, tez sırasıyla Kürt Ermeni ilişkilerinin tarihsel arka planını ve ardından *Kürdistan* gazetesi, *Kürdistan Kıyamı* (broşür), *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi*, *Rojî Kurd* ve *Hetawî Kurd* dergilerini ele alacaktır. Yine tez; Ermeni toplumu, Ermeni meselesi ve ülke-toprak (Kürdistan-Batı Ermenistan) meselelerine yaklaşırken, Kürt entelektüellerin farklı yaklaşımlarını yazıları üzerinden inceleyecektir. Devamla Kürt-Ermeni ilişkilerinde Kürt entelektüellerin sahip oldukları kimliklerini (Osmanlıcılık, İslamcılık ve Kürtlük) kendi yayınlarında nasıl ele aldıkları ve hangi kimliğin öne çıktığı da tartışılacaktır. Fakat ne yazık ki bu çalışma tek taraflıdır (Ermeni aydınların tartışmaları maalesef yok), Ermeni katliamları, toprak meselesi, Kürtlerin kurmaya çalıştığı ittifaklar (devletle veya Ermenilerle) gibi konular sadece Kürt entelektüellerinin bakış açılarıyla değerlendirilecektir.

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PART A: INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I: Methodology and Theoretical Framework

The Definition of the Kurdish Intellectuals and Methodology

Kurdish intellectuals,[1] who lived in the Late Ottoman Empire period, struggled for a Kurdish people's identity in the late 19th and early 20th century. These writers defended the Kurdish identity or nationalism. The definition of Kurdish nationalism and the emergence of the Kurdish identity as a different belonging – proto-nationalist era (1880s to 1914) – was structured at that time.[2] Despite this, the discussion continues today. As a spiritual people, why did Kurds, especially Kurdish intellectuals; lose their spiritual tie to the Ottoman Empire? In other words, was there a sense of bonding between Kurds and the Ottoman Empire?

We can define the Kurdish intellectuals' identity in the Late Ottoman Empire until WWI. Celile Celil defines the Kurdish intellectual group in the late Ottoman Empire as 'Kurdish intellectual class.' He claims the class was the main reason for Kurdish enlightenment by

[1] This term will be used for the writers of the Ottoman-Kurdish press.

[2] Many historian had written on the emerging of the Kurdish nationalism and Kurdish national identity in the Late Ottoman Empire, their idea were different but usually the nationalist or pre-nationalist idea began with the Ubeyydullah rebelliaon, you can see; Robert W. Olson, *The Emergence of Kurdish Nationalism and the Sheikh Said Rebellion, 1880-1925*, 1st ed (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1989); Hakan Özoğlu, ''Nationalism' and Kurdish Notables in the Late Ottoman-Early Republiccan Era',' *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 33 (2001): 384–409; Wadie Jwaideh, *Kürt milliyetçiliğinin tarihi: kökenleri ve gelişimi = The Kurdish nationalist movement: its origins and development*, 3. baskı, Araştırma inceleme dizisi 89 (İstanbul: İletişim, 1999).Martin van Bruinessen, *Agha, Shaikh, and State: the Social and Political Structures of Kurdistan* (London ; Atlantic Highlands, N.J: Zed Books, 1992).David McDowall, *A modern history of the Kurds*, Rev. and updated pbk. ed (London ; New York: I.B.Tauris, 1997).

focusing on the 'union' and 'progress' terms. However, he also claims that the intellectuals could not understand the class and social conditions of the Kurdish society sufficiently, because their program was similar to the programs of the Armenian political organizations and Young Turks.[3] Also, Malmîsanij questions the intellectual group, particularly the members of *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Cemiyeti* (The Kurdish Solidarity and Progress Community) and argues that it was the first Kurdish democratic and political organization.[4]

This intellectual group was not homogeneous as a class or a group identity; they were members of different families (sons of the Bedirkhan, Baban and Sheikh Ubeydullah); on the other hand there were officials in the state institutions such as Xelil Xeyalî; some of them were mullah, like Said-i Kurdi; some of them were members of the tribes. They came from different parts of Kurdish society as members of the late Ottoman Kurdish press.[5]

The intellectuals' political approach usually comprised of four points; first, to civilize Kurdish people and Kurdistan; second, to promote peace and an alliance with the Armenian community; third, to prevent the establishment of Armenia in the eastern region of the Ottoman Empire; and fourth, to oppose the regime of Abdulhamid II and *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti* (Committee of Union and Progress, CUP). In this thesis I attempt to analyze the Armenian-Kurdish relations by focusing on the publications of the Kurdish intellectuals. Nationalism is more systematic thought and so we could not say that nationalism exists

[3] Celile Celil, *Kürt Aydınlanması* (İstanbul: Avesta, 2000). p. 160-161

[4] Malmîsanij, *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Cemiyeti ve Gazetesi*, 2. ed (Istanbul: Avesta, 1999). p.9

[5] Kürdoloji Çalışmaları Grubu, *Roj-i Kurd 1913* (İstanbul: Weşanên Enstîtuya Kurdî ya Stenbolê, 2013). p. 81-91; M. Emîn Bozarslan, *Kürd Teavün ve Terakkî Gazetesi: Kovara Kurdî-Tirkî, Kürdçe-Türkçe dergi : 1908-1909* (Uppsala: Deng, 1998). p. 20-22, Malmîsanij, *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Cemiyeti ve Gazetesi*. p. 65

programmatically within this group, but they have had national consciousness since the rebellion of Sheikh Ubeydullah. The different political identities (Ottomanness and Islam) in that period prevented the appearance of Kurdish nationalism among the intellectuals.

For instance, there is the effect of Abdurrahman Bedirkhan. When we analyze chronologically we could see the formation of Kurdish collective identities. Bedirkhan participated in the first Congress of Ottoman Opposition in Paris in 1902 and analyzed the content of the congress in the last issue of the *Kurdistan* newspaper. He also criticized the Armenian delegates in the congress because they suggested the use of the French language for debating during congress. Bedirkhan mentions this regarding the official language; 'Turkish which is our official language...' in his writing on the *Congress of Ottoman Liberals*.[6] Another example is from the 'Mukaddime' of *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi* (The Kurdish Solidarity and Progress Newspaper) written by Tevfîk who called the Kurdish 'as a valued members of the Ottomans and the first allied of Ottoman glory…'[7] Another Kurdish intellectual Babanzade İsmail Hakkı who wrote an article in the *Rojî Kurd* periodical, says 'the only way of salvation for Muslim nations, the only law is that: First Islam, then others; Arab, Turk, Kurd and Iran (…) The Kurdish people's aim is: first Islam then Kurdishness.'[8] Ottomanism was a new identity in the memory of the Kurdish community within the last fifty years of the Ottoman Empire, but Islam was one of the oldest collective identities along with Kurdishness among the Sunni Kurds.[9]

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[6] Bozarslan, M. Emîn *Kurdistan: Rojnama Kurdî ya Pêşîn = İlk Kürd Gazetesi, 1898-1902* (Uppsala, Sweden: Weşanxana Deng, 1991). 31st issue p. 570

[7] Bozarslan, *Kürd Teavün ve Terakkî Gazetesi*, (1998). p. 62

[8] Kürdoloji Çalışmaları Grubu, *Roj-i Kurd 1913*. p. 265

[9] see Ahmad Khani, *Mem ü Zin* (İstanbul: Hasat Yayınları, 2008).

The identities of Kurdish intellectuals (usually Sunni Kurds) were not unique in that era; they had three collective identities; Kurdishness, Muslim identity and Ottomanness. This complicated position affected the approach towards the Armenians. Namely, the formation and transforming of collective identity of the intellectuals were related to both the demands of the Armenian political organizations and the pressure of the Ottoman State on Kurds. Otherwise, Kurdish intellectuals created the framework of a new collective identity, which includes rejection of the pressure of the Ottoman State and the demands of Armenians and resistance against the state through their publications.

In this thesis, I attempt to analyze the attitude of the Kurdish intellectuals about the Armenian Question by focusing on five Kurdish publications including two newspapers, two periodicals and one pamphlet in the late Ottoman Empire. What were the differences and similarities in the Kurdish intellectuals' approaches in this era? What is the reason for Abdulhamid II making a deal with Kurdish tribes instead of Armenians? Did the collaboration between the Kurdish tribes and the Ottoman State destroy Kurdish-Armenian relations? How were the thoughts of Kurdish intellectuals written in the newspapers of that period? In the historical background of this thesis, I will briefly try to answer both these and the following questions in order to understand the period: Which factors led to the outbreak of violence in the region? What was the underlying reason for Kurdish notables and tribes to attack their neighbors namely the Armenians? What kind of techniques and discourses were used to achieve mobilization? Although these questions could be the subject of a new thesis, because of their great importance I will discuss them by means of the Kurdish publications in the late Ottoman Empire by focusing on these questions as important points in my thesis. I will try to analyze

relationships between Armenians, Kurds and the Ottoman State and the role of the differences between them in the formation of a Kurdish national identity.

By focusing on four newspapers/journals and one pamphlet as a methodological analysis, in this thesis I will discuss the question of both collective and multiple identities in the empire and the formation of the Kurdish identity process during that era. As collective belonging and the consciousness of being a different group had started in the late empire from 1880s to the end of WWI, many Kurdish historians think the Kurdish periodical '*Jin*' (Life) published in 1918 can be taken as the beginning of the Kurdish nationalist idea. This section will be followed by the historical background and the analysis of *Kurdistan* (in *Kurdistan* newspaper the Armenian question was allocated more space than in the other newspapers and periodicals, so this chapter will be longer than the others) then the *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi (The Kurdish Solidarity and Progress Newspaper*), *Rojî Kurd* (Kurdish Sun) and *Hetawî Kurd* (Kurdish Sun) journals and finally the conclusion. In this thesis, I attempt to demonstrate differences between these publications on points such as their views on Armenian people and/or the Armenian question, and the problematization of the country between both the Kurdish and Armenian people. Unfortunately, the lack of an Armenians' perspective is the most important missing part of this thesis. Therefore, there is only the viewpoint of the Kurdish side rather than making a comparison between the two. For example, how the Armenian intellectuals approached Armenian-Kurdish relations in their press will not be analyzed here. Thus, we will need to make comparative studies of this in the future. In addition, I compare the original forms of two newspapers and two journals in this thesis, along with the books prepared by Mehmet Emin Bozarslan and *Kurdology Studies Group* but I predicate the latter.

Another issue between Armenians and Kurds is the naming of the region/country. In this thesis, I will use *Ottoman Kurdistan* usually *Kurdistan (sometimes West Armenia)* for the name of the country, because this name was used by the empire institutions and Kurdish intellectuals, particularly after the mid-nineteenth century until the founding of the Republic. The upcoming use of West Armenia is not a mistake. For the author, both names are of equal importance. However, this thesis will be argued from one side only. Moreover, Sami Frashëri, who is known as Şemseddin Sami wrote an encyclopedia in Turkish, called *Kamûs-ül Â'lâm* published in 1898 with 6 volumes, defined ‘’Kurdistan’’ in the book.[10] I will therefore use the terms ‘‘Ottoman Kurdistan’’ or ‘’Kurdistan’’ as well as ‘’West Armenia’’.[11]

[10] ‘Asya-yı garbîde kısm-ı a’zamı memâlik-i Osmâniyye’de ve bir kısmı İran’a tabi büyük bir memleket olup, ekseriyet üzere ahalisi bulunan Kürd kavminin ismiyle tesmiye olunmuştur (adlandırılmıştır). Bu isim taksimât-ı mülkiye ve siyâsiyyeye dâhil olmayıp, vaktiyle bizde Kürdistan Valiliği ve şimdi İran’da Kürdistan Eyaleti bu isimle müsemma memleketin bütününü ihâta etmediği gibi, Kürdler dahi dağınık ve sair akvâmla karışık bulunduklarından, Kürdistan’ın hududunu tamamıyla tayin etmek müşkildir. Ancak takrîbî olarak diyebiliriz ki Kürdistan Urmiye ve Van göllerinin sevâhilinden (kıyılarından) Kerha ve Diyale nehirlerinin menâbi’-ine (kaynaklarına) ve Dicle’nin mecrâsına dek mümtedd (uzanan) olup garb-ı şimâlîye doğru hududu Dicle’nin mecrâsını ta’kîble Fırat’ı terkib eden (birleşen) Karasu mecrâsına ve oradan şimâle doğru Aras havzasını ve Fırat ve Dicle havzasından ayıran taksîm-i miyâh (suların dağıtılması) hattına kadar vâsıl olur. Bu itibarla memâlik-i Osmâniyye’de Musul vilâyetinin kısm-ı a’zamı yani Dicle’nin Musul’da bulunan yerleri ve Van ve Bitlis vilayetleriyle Diyarbekir Ma’mûret-ül-azîz vilâyetlerinin birer parçası ve Dersim sancağı Kürdistan’dan ma’dûd olduğu gibi, İran’da dahil Kürdistan namıyla maruf olan eyâletle Azerbaycan eyaletinin nısfı yani cenûb-ı garbî kısmı Kürdistan’dır. Bu vechile Kürdistan şimâl-i şarkî cihetinden Azerbaycan, şarken Irak-ı Acemî, cenûben Luristan ve Irak-ı Garbî, garbi cenûbî cihetinden Cezîre (Mezopotamya), garbi-i şimâlî tarafından dahi Anadolu ile mahdûddur. Bu hudud dâhilinde 34 ile 39 arz-ı şimâlî (kuzey enlemleri) ve 37 ile 46 tûl-i şarkî (doğu boylamları) aralarında mümtedd (uzanan) olup, büyük bir müselles (üçgen) ve daha doğrusu sivri tarafı garb-ı şimâlîye doğru dönmüş bir armut şeklini ibrâz ediyor. Fırat’ı teşkil etmek üzere Karasu ile Murad Çayı’nın mültekasında (birleştiği yerde) olan en şimâl-i garbî noktasından Luristan’ın hududuna dek tûl-i a’zamı (boyu) takriben 900 kilometre ve arzı (eni) 100 ile 200 kilometre aralarındadır (Kamûs-ül-a’lâm, cilt 5, s. 3840).’ *Osmanlı Kürdistanı*, 1. bs, bgst Yayınları 42 (İstanbul: bgst Yayınları, 2011). p. 20-21 and for original text see also Şemseddin Sâmı, *Kamus-ül alâm: tarih ve coğrafya lûgati ve tabir-i esahhiyle kâffe-yi esma-yi hassa-yi camidir*, c 6 (Ankara: Kaşgar Neşriyat, 1996). p. 3840, on the other hand, you can see for Armenian article in the *Kamûs-ül Â'lâm, volume 2, p. 840-841,* for the online version see; https://archive.org/stream/kmsellmemse05emse#page/639/mode/2up

[11] For further discussion, see early pages of; Hofmann, Tessa and Gerayer Koutcharian, «The History of Armenian-Kurdish Relations in the Ottoman Empire», *Armenian Review 4* 4–156, Winter 1986 (y.y.): 1–45. and *Osmanlı Kürdistanı*, 2011.

The National Identity and Kurdish Intellectuals

Kurdish principalities and the Ottoman Empire established a loose relationship in the 16th century, which continued until the mid-19th century. However, the loyalty of the Kurds was not to the Ottoman Empire, but more with Islam. Largely the legitimacy of this relationship was based on this idea. Firstly there was a loose political relationship and secondly there was the religion of Islam. Hence, Kurdish identities were determined over these points, but in the mid-nineteenth century a great breaking apart occurred and the state first of all put into practice the centralization of the empire and Ottomanism as a common or collective identity. The new situation, which removed the privileges of Kurdish local elite, reorganized the relationship between the two sides and the relationship continued until the collapse of the empire. For the first time, Kurdish identity appeared against Armenian nationalism and that combined with other factors (fear of Russia, land/country question, the effect of missionaries and the Ottoman State pressure etc.) the Ottoman Empire and Turkish nationalism were fictionalized against the Kurdish identity. This era was a time when identity boundaries were becoming clear and Kurdish intellectuals had various identities not only Kurdishness. This process of identity formation, according to Abbas Vali shapes two-tier, denial and resistance; 'This diversity of the 'other', however, defines not only the fragmentation of Kurdish national identity but also its' specifically transnational character. The dialectic of denial and resistance assign a specifically transnational character to Kurdish nationalism which, given favorable regional conditions, may surpass the political and cultural fragmentation of Kurdish identity. But this has never been more than a theoretical possibility.'[12]

[12] Vali, Abbas, «The Kurds and Their 'Others': Fragmented Identity and Fragmented Politics», *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* XVIII, sayı 2 (1998): 83–94. See also, Naci Kutlay, *Kürt kimliğinin oluşum süreci*, Dipnot Yayınları ;132 (Sultanahmet, İstanbul: Dipnot, 2012). p. 75-82

Although the use of concepts such as denial and resistance was not clear in the perception of the Kurdish intellectuals, they mostly used the term denial for Armenian and Western states (Russia is especially included). The reason for the denial of Kurdistan was because of the reform demands of Armenians from the Ottoman Empire and from the western states.

’On the other hand, the term resistance was used for the Empire although the roles and positions of both sides (Armenian and Ottoman) were variable in so far as they could both be at times in each other’s positions with respect to denial and resistance. As a result, these terms have shaped Kurdish collective identity in the later period.

Collective identity or collective behavior determined various borders on its own; to become a group requires being ‘different’ or ‘other’ from surrounding groups. A group that has a specific collective or individual symbol uses identity for definition from others, therefore identities vary because of different reasons, sometimes it is because of a political situation, sometimes it can be religion or ethnicity, gender or territorial etc… According to Smith, the changing of identities was quite natural, because people can be loyal to multiple identities; you cannot prevent this, the fact that it is a naturally occurring situation to belong to various different identities is a very natural matter in the world.[13]

[13] Smith gives detailed information about the multiplicity of identities that were believed by the people; ‘As I said at the outset, human beings have multiple collective identifications, whose scope and intensity will vary with time and place. There is nothing to prevent individuals from identifying with Flanders, Belgium and Europe simultaneously, and displaying each allegiance in the appropriate context; or from feeling they are Yoruban, Nigerian and African, in concentric circles of loyalty and belonging. It is, in fact, quite common, and very much what one would expect in a world of multiple ties and identities.’ Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (London: Penguin, 1991). p. 175

Smith debates and analyzes the issues surrounding multiple-identities, most obviously and fundamentally, the category of gender followed by the category of space or territory. Local and regional identity is equally widespread, particularly in the pre-modern era. A third type of collective identity is socio-economic, the category of social class.[14] Smith continues to discuss the subject and he says ethnic and religious identity is connected to the third category, consequently these identities include more than one identity, they accept different classes, and there is a continuous shift from one to the other identities. Therefore, one identity did not belong to merely one group, namely identities are transitive between different categories, and one person can have one, two, or more different identities. Ethnic and religious identities defend many symbols about their ideas or beliefs, hence, collective identity comprises different groups that are based in more than one classification, and the identities change over time.

On one hand, religious identity is different from social identity, because it was born from a different humanitarian need and on the other hand, class identity was born from production and exchange. In other words, ethnic identity focused on ethno-language population thus, the identity sometimes has subdivided. Smith gives an example; 'Even in early medieval Europe and the Middle East the world religions are Islam and Christianity sometimes subdivided into ethnical demarcated Churches or sects, as with the Armenian and Copts and, later, the Persian Shiites. Though one cannot argue conclusively for ethnic causation, there are enough circumstantial cases to suggest strong links between forms of religious identity, even within world religions, and ethnic cleavages and communities.'[15]

[14] Smith, Anthony D., *National Identity* (Nevada: University of Nevada Press, 1991). p. 4

[15] Ibid, p. 7

According to Smith, identity is transitive and should change its content with time, namely the state of belonging to identity largely does not stay as one element and it can change in time, we may therefore understand the identities of the Ottoman Empire's nineteenth century. The empire used this condition very well. Nationalism is also one of the elements of collective identities. It has been so with respect to the Balkans, Serbia, Greece, Bulgaria and other parts of the empire.[16] Hence, in the empire, after the losses of territory, emerged a new identity and ideology in the Tanzimat period, under the name of Ottomanism. According to Karpat, the goal of Ottomanism was to make equal all the ethnic and religious groups under the law; in other words, the idea imagined a secular state where the state used the citizenship of the empire for integration.[17] Nevertheless, within the empire, there were many different ethnic and religious groups whose only common ground was religion and the other reason for this idea was the rising of the pan-Slavism. Smith expressed this situation very well:

> If a more inclusive collective identity covering the whole population in that territory were to emerge, it would necessarily be of quite a different kind from an identity based on class and economic interests. Such wider collective identities might even challenge more restricted class identities, and perhaps undermine or divide them through an appeal to quite different criteria of categorization. This is just what has often

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[16] Hanioğlu,M. Şükrü, *A brief history of the late Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008). p. 51; see also Erik Jan Zürcher ve Mete Tunçay, ed, *Socialism and nationalism in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1923* (London ; New York: British Academic Press in association with the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, 1994) and John R. Lampe ve Mark Mazower, ed, *Ideologies and national identities: the case of twentieth-century Southeastern Europe* (Budapest ; New York: Central European University Press, 2004).

[17] Karpat, Kemal H., *İslâm'ın siyasallaşması : Osmanlı Devleti'nin Son Döneminde Kimlik, Devlet, İnanç ve Cemaatin Yeniden Yapılandırılması* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2001). p. 582

happened. Both religious and ethnic identities have striven to include more than one class within the communities created on their bases.[18]

According to Gellner,[19] Anderson,[20] and Hobsbawm[21] the nations were created; and it is a political unit, but Smith analyzed the genesis of nation for a long time and on that basis he is differentiated from the others. However, all writers accept nationalism as an ideology, namely it is a product of the modern age such as Ottomanism. However, this collective identity was not successful and despite that, Karpat defends this idea. According to him, Ottomanism is transformed as a consistent political unit if the state officials told well.[22] Because of non-Muslim groups (Armenians being among them) and in the Hamidian period some Muslim groups (for instance Kurds) began to use ethnic consciousness and the idea of belonging as a political tool.

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[18] Smith, *National Identity*. p. 6

[19] 'Nationalism is primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent (…) In brief, nationalism is a theory of political legitimacy, which requires that ethnic boundaries within a given state – a contingency already formally excluded by the principle in its general formulation – should not separate the power –holders from the rest.'Gellner,Ernest, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blacwell, 2001). p. 1 and also see; Ernest Gellner, *Milliyetçiliğe bakmak = Encounters with Nationalism*, İletişim Yayınları ; Araştırma-inceleme dizisi 462. 72 (İstanbul: İletişim, 1998). p. 230-251

[20] 'In an anthropological spirit, then, I propose the following definition of the nation: it is an imagined political community - and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign (…) finally, it is imagined as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings.'Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Rev. and extended ed (London ; New York: Verso, 1991)
Ibid. p. 5-7

[21] 'I use the term 'nationalism' in the sense defined by Gellner, namely to mean 'primarily a principle which holds that the political and national unit should be congruent.' 'E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and nationalism since 1780: programme, myth, reality*, 2nd ed, The Wiles lectures (Cambridge [England] ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990). p. 9

[22] Karpat, Kemal H., *İslâm'ın siyasallaşması : Osmanlı Devleti'nin Son Döneminde Kimlik, Devlet, İnanç ve Cemaatin Yeniden Yapılandırılması*. p. 584

After the Berlin Congress in 1878 the percentage of the non-Muslim population decreased in the empire, Abdulhamid II used Pan-Islamism as a new political identity from the end of the 1870s onwards, so, at that time he was creating new symbols for a new identity by the state during this period.[23] Diversely, Islam has been used as the core of identity for peoples' integration; nevertheless this fact could not prevent the emergence of new ethno-centric sub-identities. Therefore, the people from different groups had more than one identity and this was a normal situation as stated by Smith.

[23] Ibid. 592-599

CHAPTER II: Historical Background

A new period started in the Ottoman Empire in the early nineteenth century and during this time, the Ottoman State changed the all internal and foreign policies throughout the empire. Taking European countries as a model, the state aimed to modernize itself. The sultans and elites, who were members of the government, knew that there was a need for reform. However, many sultans did not respond to these needs until the early nineteenth century, but 'Sultan Selim III (1789–1807) and Mahmud II (1808–39) prepared some reforms aimed at opening the Ottoman reform era (1789–1922).'[24] Sultan Selim was not successful, but he started the process and founded the *Nizam-ı Cedit* army as a military reform in the empire. Immediately after the beginning of these reforms, Mahmud II made many reformations and innovations for the state. Before Mahmud II, the policy form of the empire was decentralized, but, he was forced to make an alliance with the Ayans on the *Sened'i İttifak and* the Ayans wanted to continue the substantial system in the empire; also, they asked to keep the decentralized system. However, Mahmud's reform policies did not include this administration. Sina Akşin indicates that according to many Ottoman historians; such as İnalcık, Berkes and Danişmend, *Sened-i İttifak* was a big problem for the empire in that period, because Western countries wanted the state to be centralized under nation-state model. The Ottoman Empire desired the change and centralized the state through the help of reform, but at the same time they were also making an alliance with the Ayans. As Sina Akşin expresses; some historians support the idea of centralization just like the western countries and criticized the empire for their alliance with Ayans. However, these historians remain conservative in their approach of nation-state and their nationalist attitude on the topic.

[24] Kasaba, Reşat. 2008. *Chambridge History of Modern Turkey*. Camridge University Press, p.12

After the alliance, the sultan changed this policy and all around the empire a war started between the state and principalities. At the same time, the *Edict of Gülhane* was declared and announced in 1839, which provided some rights for non-Muslim communities. The Great Powers put pressure on the empire because they claimed non-Muslim communities and Muslim people were not equal in the empire. On the other hand, there were many problems within different parts of the empire For example; there were revolts in the Balkan region, Serbia and Greece. Egypt's khedive Muhammad Ali wanted to be independent and asked for a broad autonomy to control southeast Anatolia and most of the Arab provinces.[25] In addition, the Kurdish emirates were revolting against the centralization of the state and local notables opposed this centralization, which was imposed by the empire.[26] Many parts of the empire were in a crisis. Hence, the state declared the *Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayun* in 1839.

After this imperial edict, the state authority transformed into Ottomanism, and defended equality among citizens of the empire between Muslim and non-Muslim people. Bureaucracy was reorganized in the early 1840s, the state began to implement many reforms, and following this period, Ottomanism became the main ideology of the state. 'This ideology of Ottomanism – equality of all male Ottoman subjects – remained a policy keystone until the end of the empire in 1922.'[27] In the Tanzimat Era (1839-1876), many fights emerged and contradictions occurred between the Muslim and non-Muslim communities about the idea of equality. The Empire's Muslim populations got used to the *Millet-i Hakime* approach against

[25] Quataert, Donald. 2005. *The Ottoman Empire, 1700–1922*. Camridge University Press, p. 58

[26] Kayalı, Hasan. 1998. *Jön Türkler ve Araplar*. İstanbul. Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, p. 22-23

[27] Quataert, Donald. 2005. *The Ottoman Empire, 1700–1922*. Camridge University Press, p. 68

non-Muslim people and they did not accept the reforms particularly rejecting equality with non-Muslim people. This opposition became a major problem for the state.

On the other hand, the Kurdish emirates and the empire were at war during the first part of the nineteenth century. Before this period, Kurdish emirates had autonomy since the 16th century; their loyalty to the state was solely official, because they were independent in their internal affairs. Nevertheless, after centralization, the state no longer accepted this situation because a new world was being built and the empire would be included in this new world. Hence, a conflict was inevitable between the state and the Kurdish emirates. After this struggle, which lasted half a century, the state won all wars against the Kurdish emirates. Therefore, the structure of the state policy changed in the east of the empire (or Kurdistan) against the Kurds and the Armenians. According to Kieser, Kurdish elites were losers of the Tanzimat period because of the removal of the emirates and the reforms of the state.[28] The Kurdish emirates were opposing the centralization of the state and their rebellion against the state was defeated. There were two reasons for this situation, one of them was the emirates' powers were not as strong as the state's and the other reason was that the Kurdish emirates wanted to keep old powers, but, the world system had changed and they were not aware of this change.[29]

[28] Kieser, Hans-Lukas *Iskalanmış Barış: Doğu Vilayetleri'nde Misyonerlik, Etnik Kimlik ve Devlet 1839-1938 = Verpasste friede: mission, ethnie und staat in den ostprovinzen der Türkei 1839-1938*, 2. baskı, iletişim yayınları 1075 (İstanbul: İletişim, 2005). p. 25

[29] Kardam, Ahmet *Cizre-Bohtan Beyi Bedirkhan: Direniş ve Isyan Yılları*, 2. bsk, Dipnot Yayınları 106 (Ankara: Dipnot Yayınları, 2011).p. 63 and see also Kardam, Ahmet, *Cizre - Bohtan Beyi Bedirhan: Sürgün Yılları* (Dipnot Yayınları, 2013).
Hakan Özoğlu, *Osmanlı Devleti ve Kürt milliyetçiliği* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2005). P. 79-80 and see also Hakan Özoğlu, *Kurdish notables and the Ottoman State: evolving identities, competing loyalties, and shifting boundaries*, SUNY series in Middle Eastern studies (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004).

Many state institutions founded in the region and after the fall of the emirates, the state changed the political system in the region, for instance, the empire established *Eyalet-i Kurdistan* in 1847 and declared this via *Takvîm-i Vekayi*.[30] According to Özoğlu, the reason for the establishment of the *Eyalet-i Kurdistan* was to oppose the Iranian and Russian empires.[31] This Eyalet persisted for twenty years and after this it was removed, however, the region continued to be referred to as Kurdistan. Nevertheless, during this period, the state did not establish its full authority over Kurdistan. There were several reasons for this; all Kurdish tribes got rid of the emirates' authority after the removal of the emirates, in other words, tribes/aghas, and sheikhs became new authorities in the eastern parts of the empire.[32] According to Klein, Kurdish tribes and sheik families were moving as 'parallel authorities' in the region; therefore, the region was not controlled by the state in that period.[33] As a result, this situation created new conditions for different communities, especially for Armenians and Kurds.[34]

Armenian people were Christian, Kurds were generally Sunni Muslim or Kızılbash/Alevi, and very few of them were Yezidis, hence, they have different social status according to their religions. According to many Kurdish and Armenian historians or researchers, problems between these two populations began during this period. The involvement of major countries

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[30] Osmanlı Kürdistanı, 1. bs, bgst Yayınları 42 (İstanbul: bgst Yayınları, 2011). p. 91,107

31 Özoğlu, Osmanlı Devleti ve Kürt Milliyetçiliği., p. 83

32 Bruinessen, Agha, Shaikh, and State. p. 133-257

[33] Klein, Janet, *Hamidiye Alayları - İmparatorluğun Sınır Boyları ve Kürt Aşiretleri* (Istanbul: İletişim yayınları, 2013). p.17

[34] Kieser, Hans-Lukas, *Iskalanmış Barış: Doğu Vilayetleri'nde Misyonerlik, Etnik Kimlik ve Devlet 1839-1938 = Verpasste friede: mission, ethnie und staat in den ostprovinzen der Türkei 1839-1938*, 2. baskı, iletişim yayınları 1075 (İstanbul: İletişim, 2005).

of the region also worsened the relations of these two societies, namely, the Armenian people benefited from the transformations in the nineteenth century. The Tanzimat era officially provided an equality for Muslim and non-Muslim people. 'Of the historically recognized millets, new regulations were approved for the Greek Orthodox (1860–2), Armenians (1863) and Jews (1864) (…) Progressive Armenians who contributed to their communal reform advocated a constitution for the empire, and one of them, Krikor Odian, served on the commission that drafted it.'[35]

Armenian people were under the control of the Kurdish emirates for three hundred years, however, in the 19th century, these emirates were removed by the state, and then many Kurdish tribes emerged after the transformation of the political system. According to Kieser, era of the emirates was *modus vivendi* for the Armenian people[36] also; these emirates had taken tax from non-Muslim people until 19th century. Hence, the emergence of the tribal period opened a new term for Kurds and Armenians. Therefore, the Armenian people's situation was worse during the earlier period, because, generally, Kurdish tribes attacked Armenians and they began to give their land to the Kurds. The reasons for this situation were two-way; one of them was the centralization of the state and the other the empire integrated into the capitalist world market.[37] In other words, land value increased during the 19th century and the empire's territory was shrinking. Therefore, during this era, three problems appeared

[35] *Turkey in the Modern World*, The Cambridge history of Turkey, v. 4 (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008). p. 28-29

[36] Kieser, *Iskalanmış Barış*. p. 33 see also for Kurdiash Armenian relationship in the late 19th century in Ottoman Empire; Arsen Yarman, *Palu-Harput, 1878: Çarsancak, Çemişgezek, Çapakçur, Erzincan, Hizan ve civar bögeler*, 1. basım (İstanbul: Derlem Yayınları, 2010); Boğos Natanyan, *Sivas 1877: Sivas marhasalığı ve Sivas vilâyetine bağlı birkaç önemli şehir hakkında rapor (Sivas, Tokat, Amasya, Merzifon)*, 1. bsk, Birzamanlar Yayıncılık (İstanbul: Birzamanlar Yayıncılık, 2008).

[37] Pamuk, Şevket. *Osmanlı-Türkiye İktisadi Tarihi, 1500-1914*, 4th ed, İletişim Yayınları 1110. 189 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007), p. 205-215

and they were the following: The Empire's territory decreased, the land value increased and many nomadic Kurdish tribes were forced to settle permanently. More precisely, land was crucial in the second part of the nineteenth century in the eastern parts of the empire, thus, the Kurdish tribes sought power and authority in the region and they began to seize land belonging to Armenian and Kurdish peasants.[38] Armenian priests, peasants, and craftsmen complained to the Palace and to Istanbul's Armenian Patriarchate about the Kurdish tribes. The patriarchate controlled all Armenian community and established a new council after the announcement of the Armenian Constitution (*Nizamname-i Milleti Ermeniyan*).[39] Therefore, petitions were sent to the council from the countryside (West Armenia and/or Kurdistan).

Meanwhile, a war erupted between the Ottoman State and Russia within this period and it was important for both sides, because Kurds and Armenians lived in the eastern part of the Ottoman Empire, in the war zone. However, there was a different problem; for the Armenians, the territory was referred to as 'the West Armenia' and for the Kurds the region was 'Kurdistan.' Yet, the state used Kurdistan and sometimes *vilayet-i şark* (eastern province) for this region. Hofmann and Koutcharian wrote an article for the Armenian review regarding the Armenian -Kurdish relationship during the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, they used both terms in reference to the region creating another potential area for conflict.[40]

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[38] Klein, Janet, *Hamidiye Alayları - İmparatorluğun Sınır Boyları ve Kürt Aşiretleri*. p. 304; for instance see also, Musa Şaşmaz, *Kürt Musa Bey olayı, 1883-1890*, Kitabevi 220 (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2004).

[39] Raymond H. Kevorkian, *Ermeniler* (İstanbul: Aras Yayıncılık, 2012). p.11-12

[40] *The Armenian Review* (Hairenik Association, 1987). Tessa Hofmann and Gerayer Koutcharian, 'The History of Armenian-Kurdish Relations in the Ottoman Empire,' 39.4 (1986): 1-45.
'The Kurds, who are equally anxious to gain national independence, also have the potential of being in conflict with Armenians regarding the territorial issue. The representative of the Kurdish and Armenian nations will have to enter into a dialogue if they want to seriously maintain their claims on this area, their historic homelands, two terms often used today to designate the same territory, Western Armenia and Kurdistan.'Ibid, p.1-2

Hamidian Period

Before the Hamidian period, the empire transformed its structure through the use of reforms, and the Ottoman reform edicts and kanunnames, which were seen in *Tanzimat* 1839, *Islahat* 1856, *Land Code* 1858, 'Vilayet Law', *Teşkil-i Vilayet Nizamnamesi* 1864, and promulgation of the *Kanûn-ı Esâsî* 1976 reorganized the state. The empire wanted to keep in step with European states and to be included in the world system, therefore, the reform era affected people's lives in the empire, such as the Armenians and the Kurds. Hence, according to Kieser, the *modus vivendi* statute concluded and an era of conflict began between two people living together with these contradictions. After the era of the constitution, (1876-78) war between the Ottoman Empire and Russia began again and the Ottoman State was defeated in this battle.

It lasted until 1878. During that time, 'Russia declared war on the Ottoman Empire in April 1877, having already signed in mid-January an agreement with Austria-Hungary that would allow Russia freedom of movement in the Balkans in exchange for Austro-Hungarian rule over Bosnia and Herzegovina.' In those years, a rebellion broke out in Bulgaria against the empire and the empire, which was responsible for a large massacre in Bulgaria, suppressed this rebellion. This event prompted the fracturing apart of Muslims, non-Muslims, and the state.[41] After the war, the Ottoman Empire was defeated by Russia, they made a treaty at San Stefano, and the Ottoman Empire accepted autonomy over the Balkan region. After the *Treaty of Berlin* in 1878, this region (the Balkans) left the empire. [42] This process was a turning point for the empire, because the Ottoman Empire's population changed after the war, and

[41] Faroqhi, Suraiya. 2010. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Tarihi*. İstanbul. Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları. p. 97-98 http://www.inalcik.com/images/pdfs/89230630TANZiMATNEDiR.pdf

[42] Kasaba, Reşat. 2008. Chambridge History of Modern Turkey. Camridge University Press, p. 46-47

according to Kemal Karpat the empire lost 4.5 million people in the Balkans. The Christian population separated from the empire and the Ottoman State's population remained largely Muslim in Asia Minor and the Middle East.[43] The empire internally and externally changed its policy after this treaty, because until that date, probably fifty percent of the population of the Ottoman State were Muslims and non-Muslims, but when the Balkan region became independent, the majority of what was left of the empire's population was Muslim. Naturally, the policy of the state would change according to the new conditions.

According to Bayram Kodaman, the Hamidian period has several characteristic features; which were centralization, Pan-Islamism, Balance Policy and Reform Policy. The reasons for the emergence of these policies' were the *Treaty of Berlin* and the final act of the *Congress of Berlin* in 1878, which was after the *93 Harbi.* One of the most important features of the congress was the decision about the Armenians. The Ottoman Empire had lost large areas of land particularly on the side of the Balkans and because of this, new problems arose for the empire in congress, the powerful countries, especially Russia revived the *Armenian Question* against the Ottoman Empire.[44] Zürcher narrated the situation of the Armenians in the empire and he said that Russia stood behind the Armenians in congress:

> The Armenians, divided over a large Gregorian and smaller Protestant and Catholic millets, constituted a sizeable minority in six of the eastern provinces of Ottoman Anatolia. Most of them were peasants in areas dominated by Turcoman and Kurdish tribes. Over the centuries, they had migrated along the major east–west trade routes of Anatolia, so that by the nineteenth century there were also important Armenian

[43] Karpat, Kemal. 2003. *Osmanlı Nüfusu (1830-1914).* İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, p. 67

[44] Kodaman, Bayram. *Sultan II. Abdülhamid Devri Doğu Anadolu Politikası*, Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü yayınları 67 (Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1987).

settlements in many of the major Anatolian towns and in Istanbul itself. In the towns of Anatolia, they were important as artisans and traders. The new nationalist ideology began to be felt among the Armenians in the 1870s. An Armenian delegation had demanded reforms in the eastern provinces of Anatolia at the Conference of Berlin but only Russia had offered it lukewarm support.[45]

After the congress, the empire had a new issue, because one of the congress' decisions was article 61 and this article made the Armenian Question an international issue. The empire's great states took to protecting Armenians against the Kurds and Circassians, while the empire also promised the states reforms regarding the Armenian Question in the six provinces (Vilay-i Sitte). All reforms would be followed by the great states; according to Kodaman, the Bâb-ı Ali was losing its sovereignty in the Eastern Anatolia.[46]

The centralization did not begin with II Abdulhamid, however his period was a quick process for the centralization of the empire, because the constitution that was declared in 1876 was later suspended, and in two years, his despotic period started. He closed *Meclis-i Mebusan,* which was the Ottoman parliament. Bayram claimed that this policy was not the aim; it was an opportunity for using the reforms and the pan-Islamism policies of Abdulhamid II.[47]

[45] Zürcher, Erik Jan. *Turkey: A Modern History*, Third edition (Leiden, I.B. Tauris, 2003). 83

[46] Kodaman, Bayram. *Sultan II. Abdülhamid Devri Doğu Anadolu Politikası*. p.25

[47] Ibid.p. 21-24

Pan-Islamism or Ittihad-ı Islam was an important factor in the transformation of the Ottoman Empire's collective identity and it was used together with (or instead of) Ottomanism. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century the empire started to modernize, hence, the structure of the state had to change. The empire needed reforms to be systemic, because the Western World developed and changed industrially, philosophically, culturally and especially economically. Therefore, the members of the Western World had become the leaders of the world. They had many important weapons, which had won all wars on a large scale. According to western countries, the Ottoman Empire was a weak empire that was not considered to be a significant rival at that time. Hence, the empire would change the structure of the state according to modern rules and it was to make these reforms with the help of the press both for internal and external reasons.

Donald Quataert debates nineteenth century state policy, ethnic or social movements and violence, and he argues on *push and pull* factors in that century. According to him, some countries' independence was caused by the violence of the empire. He discusses this issue and analyzes two types of approach; firstly, the state has good faith about the reforms and secondly, the state is oppressive and does not have good faith. Many countries that were under the control of the empire began to struggle against the empire after the dissemination of nationalist ideas.[48] The identity of Ottomanism was not enough for all the members of the empire's societies; however, Balkan communities recognized nationalism earlier than Eastern

[48] 'Generally, two types of analysis are presented, respectively based on so-called push and pull factors. In the 'push' analysis, stress is placed on the good intentions of the Ottoman State but the incomplete nature of its reform efforts during the nineteenth century. In this view, the state sought to bring about equality between Muslim and non-Muslim subjects and more equitable relations between elites and the lower strata. But, because it was slow to do so, frustrations mounted and revolts ensued. In this view, the state fell victim to its own well-minded policies. 'Pull' analysts are less kind about state intentions and instead refer to Ottoman oppression, both political and economic. Deprived of political rights and driven by mounting economic impoverishment under Ottoman maladministration, they say, nationalist sentiments developed among local leaders who led the drive for independence.' Quataert, Donald. 2005. *The Ottoman Empire, 1700–1922*. Camridge University Press, p.70

communities did, during the nineteenth century. Therefore, Abdulhamid fronted the empire to Islam communities in Asia Minor and Middle East after 1878.

The Ideology of Abdulhamid Pan-Islamist Policy and Its Reasons

Abdulhamid II turned back to the East instead of the West. The empire's population had changed, the population of non-Muslim people had decreased but some non-Muslim people were still included in the eastern part of the empire. In other words, Armenians did not exist in the Islamic concept of the empire; accordingly, the sultan allied with Kurdish tribal leaders during that period. It meant that, a new Islamic alliance was emerging against the Armenians in the eastern part of the empire and the Islamic policy or pan-Islamism determined all Hamidian period policy.

European countries occupied Muslim countries like Indonesia, India, and Central Asia. These countries asked for help from the Ottoman Empire against the invading Western countries. According to this idea, if Islamic countries could have merged together they could have held power. At the same time, Ottoman internal policy had major problems about nationalist ideas and movements. Non-Muslim territory decreased from the empire and its population changed, equally, after the Tanzimat Edict was accepted by the state. Big problems emerged among the different classes, notables, tribes, and communities. Hence, Ottomanism was not the answer to the empire's domestic and foreign policy.

During that time, some intellectuals developed a term for this situation, young Ottomans (Namık Kemal, Ali Suavi, Ziya Paşa, Şinasi) that was ittihad-ı Islam (pan-Islamism) and the

group was established in 1867 in Istanbul. They went by the name of the Young Ottomans. They created a new group for opposing the Tanzimat regime; the Young Ottomans were inspired by Pan-Germanism and Pan-Slavism. According to Hasan Kayalı, the group emerged with the collapse of the Ottoman economy and the declining of Muslim trade and their complaints were the management of small bureaucratic elite groups, foreign tampers on the empire's political and economical issues and Europe's cultural dominance. They were accepting the social and professional features of Westernization; however they criticized state officials for defending artificial elements of Western culture. According to intellectual groups, reforms should be according to Shari'a rules, defending the constitutional government, and focusing on the term 'meşveret' in order to use it in the parliamentary system. In addition, they published a newspaper of *Hürriyet* in Istanbul as well as in Europe and they defended freedom, patriotism, and constitutional rights. They imagined an Ottoman State that was accepted by Turks and Arabs and non-Muslim people that was founded 'around common interests.' In 1876, the first parliament which had been accepted by Abdulhamid was established in the empire.[49] The Young Ottomans believed in Abdulhamid because of the realization of this idea and according to Kayalı, the constitution collected Ottomanist ideals in parliament, in other words Ottomanism and Islamism continued together until the Great War. However, during the Abdulhamid period Islamism became the dominant idea, which was similar to the establishment of nationalism and the identity of the empire was changing to Islamism, but it was not merely focused on one approach, two or three collective identities continued together. Sometimes one of them became more dominant than the others and during that period, Islamism dominated. Therefore, the identities of Islamism and Ottomanism continued together, because as we have discussed above, identity can have multiple faces simultaneously.

[49] Kayalı, Hasan. 1998. *Jön Türkler ve Araplar*. İstanbul. Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, p. 24-27

After the '93 Harbi' Abdulhamid closed the parliament and propped up temporarily the constitution. After this event, Abdulhamid became an undisputed leader until the second constitutional period, for this reason, the period was known as the Hamidian reign, and Hamidian Islamism. Abdulhamid used Islamism as an ideology and policy for *raison d'état*, and he had great power among the Muslim communities and countries, according to him and the Young Ottoman intellectuals, the empire could be the leader of this idea because the empire was the biggest Muslim empire that had a caliphate legitimating the pan-Islamic idea, it was enough. Aytek Sever mentions this matter in his unpublished master's thesis on Hamidian Islamism and Jamal Ad-din Afghani:

> It is possible to make a distinction of Islamism and Pan-Islamism as two different ideologies. Pan-Islamism, which is also implied by coinages such as 'Muslim unity,' 'Islamic unity', or in Ottoman case, as 'ittihad-ı Islam', refers to politics centered on the theme of the unity of Muslims of the world around the Caliphate authority against Western imperialism, and as a more advanced phase, the union of Muslim states. As such, Islamism refers to the attempt to make Islam not only as belief and religion, but also as ethics, politics, and system of thought, the dominant factor in social life; and also to redeem Muslims from western domination and despotic rulers, in a combination of modernist, activist, and eclectic ways, with the idea of progress being in mind.[50]

[50]Sever, Aytek. 2010. *A Pan-Islamist in Istanbul: Jamalad-din Afghani and Hamidian Islamism, 1892-1897*, Middle East Technical University, Unpublished Master Thesis, p. 15

He discusses Islamic values in the late Abdulhamid period, especially during the 1890s. He claims two approaches, the first 'Muslim unity,' and the second, the Ottoman case as 'ittihad-ı Islam'; hence, he says that the Islamist idea does not belong either to the Ottoman Empire or the Abdulhamid period. It covers a much wider area that is all Muslim spaces that want to revolt against imperialist power, especially against Great Britain and France. Consequently, the Ottoman Empire, as the biggest Muslim empire had the caliphate. These two reasons were enough for becoming leader of the empire against great western powers. They also wanted to support the empire as well as the empire's policy change towards Islamism. The Young Ottomans did not want this development, when Abdulhamid became a sultan, accepted, and removed the parliament the intellectual group did not agree with this, because they were asking for the domination of Muslim people in the empire. However, with reforms non-Muslim people won many privileges, so, the Young Ottomans and Abdulhamid's paths separated. The sultan did not favor the Young Ottomans' Islamism and Ottomanism. According to Kayalı, the Ottomanism of the intellectual group had delayed the Ottomanist idea, because the empire had already lost much territory, then their Islamism was not accepted by Abdulhamid. The sultan gained new prominence to Islam in his role as caliphate. His idea of Islamism was not against the Ottomanist approach, the center of his idea was based on the country or 'vatan.'[51] Kayalı says, 'Islamism of Abdulhamid was Ottomanism which was equipped with the ideological concepts of Islam.'[52] It is an important approach for analyzing the period, because the policy that was used was a pragmatic approach for Muslim tebaa. Kayalı continues; normally 'Pan' idea is expansionary, however, pan-Islamism or Abdulhamid's Islamism was not expansionary. According to this idea, '*vatan* (homeland)' was significant, and this definition was not a danger for non-Muslim rights that were taken

[51] Kayalı, Hasan. 1998. *Jön Türkler ve Araplar*. İstanbul. Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, p.33-35

[52] Ibid, p. 34

after the Tanzimat.[53] However, this idea was a problematic approach against non-Muslim people, and it was exclusive.

Abdulhamid used different policies during this time for the Islamic region of the empire. Abdulhamid or the caliphate's legitimacy was important for the Muslim people of the empire. The sultan implemented various policies around the empire, for example the Hijaz railway was built. Moreover, he established many foundations; education centers or vakıf for his legitimacy, and education, military and governance were all modernized during this period.[54] He founded all institutions using the Islamist idea. According to Zürcher Abdulhamid's Islamist Muslim people warmly welcomed policy:

> The Islam the sultan supported was that of the more conservative *ulema* and *Sufi* sheikhs with whom he surrounded himself. Islamic modernists do not seem to have enjoyed much support at court. While foreign observers and members of the Christian communities saw it as an atavistic return to fanaticism, the appeal to Islam did strike a chord with Muslims inside and outside the empire who felt threatened by European imperialism and by the privileged position of the Christians. The greatest monument to the Islamist policies of Abdülhamit was the Hijaz railway from Damascus to Medina, built between 1901 and 1908 largely from voluntary contributions in order to serve pilgrims to Mecca.[55]

Sina Akşin debates the Abdulhamid reforms and he proposes that when we discuss the Abdulhamid period we do not make comments as some historians, on the other hand, we

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[53] Ibid, p. 35

[54] Deringil, Selim, *Simgeden Millete: II. Abdülhamid'den Mustafa Kemal'e Devlet ve Millete*, İletişim Yayınları 1216 (İstanbul: İletişim, 2007).

[55] Zurrcher,Eric Jan. 1992. *Turkey A Modern History*. I. B. Tauris, p. 79

should not judge him unfairly. Akşin says that the reforms of Abdulhamid were made to keep up with the non-Muslim education. In other words, he aimed to save the state with the reforms; hence, Islamism was important for this progress. A railway was built, but it was built using foreign capital. The Hijaz railway was also built to highlight the achievements of caliphate of the sultan.[56]

As a result Abdulhamid used censorship against any opposition, blocking all opposing thoughts in the empire even applying pressure on other countries. Abdulhamid behaved cruelly towards other identities and made many different communities that were members of the empire decline. I would like to discuss two examples from the Abdulhamid period; which are non-Muslim (Armenians) and Muslim people (Kurds).

Abdulhamid, Hamidiye Cavalry, Kurds and Armenians

Abdulhamid defended the idea of Hanefi-Islam between Muslim people with a pan-Islamist approach. In that period, one of the biggest revolts began against the empire by Sheikh Ubeydullah and it began in Kurdistan. The Sheikh had seen weakness of the states before, and he organized a revolt against the Ottoman State in 1879. Then he attacked Iran in that period, however he did not win against them, the reason for this revolt, which was prepared in the Berlin congress, weakened the empire during this era. Therefore, the sheikh took advantage of this situation. Another reason was the Armenians. Subsequently great powers helped the Armenians and they defended their rights within the Ottoman Empire, therefore, according to

[56] Akşin, Sina. *Türkiye Tarihi 3*. İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, p. 184-185

the Kurds and their sheikh,[57] who was one of the most important leaders, had thought that 'the Armenian people wanted to establish a new state in Van'. The city has always been a significant place for both Kurdish and Armenian people and they lived there together. According to the sheikh the city of Van was part of Kurdistan, not Armenia and the conditions motivated him to revolt. During this process, the sheikh had good relations with the Armenian and Nestorian communities. With the revolt a new idea emerged among the Kurdish people; the borders of their territory changed and the land (Kurdistan) became like a country.

After the centralization of the state, the sultan wanted 'peace' with the Kurds, particularly with the nomadic Kurdish tribes and the sultan had to make a decision regarding the east of the empire in order to retain control of the region. Defending the Armenians, would be an obstacle to the Islamist idea, if he defended the Kurds it would be a big problem, because the Kurdish emirates and people revolted all throughout the nineteenth century against the empire and they were not Hanefi-Muslim, they were *Şafi*, therefore, they were a dangerous group. Consequently, he had to make a decision between two communities; Abdulhamid took a risk and chose the Kurds. What was the reason for Abdulhamid II to make a deal with Kurdish tribes and not the Armenians?[58] After that decision, he organized many Kurdish tribes for the recognition of Kurdistan/West Armenia region. Şakir and Zeki Pashas constituted the regiments and Abdulhamid established the Hamidiye Cavalry (Hamidiye Hafif Süvari

[57] Jwaideh, *Kürt Milliyetçiliğinin Tarihi*. p. 166-167

[58] Georgeon, François. *Sultan Abdülhamid* (İstanbul: Homer, 2006). p. 309-311

Alayları -Hamidiye Light Cavalry Corps) in 1891. It was an organization of tribes, with more than 40 tribes joining the corps. After this, the number of tribes rose to 65.[59]

Many historians wrote about the Hamidiye Cavalry and its period, but there are contradictions among them about the aims of the cavalry however, many of the claims are similar. According to Bayram Kodaman the regiments were established according to these six points;

1- To establish a central authority
2- To establish a new socio-political balance in the east of the empire,
3- To benefit from the military power of the tribes,
4- To prevent Armenian activity and establish a new power balance between Muslim and non-Muslim people,
5- To protect Eastern Anatolia from Russian attacks and British policies
6- To conduct the pan-Islamism policy[60]

Janet Klein and Martin van Bruinessen argue that the main purpose of the Hamidiye Cavalry was for Kurds to be taken under state control.[61] Their other arguments are similar to Kodaman's. However, Klein emphases a secret mission of the regiments that reinforced *Ittihad-ı Islam* among the Kurdish people. Therefore, Kurds could connect to the empire and according to the sultan's approach, they would be civilized in the process, in other words uncivilized Kurdish tribes would be forced to lead settled lives. Hence, the state's secret aim

[59] Klein, Janet, «Power in the Periphery: Hamidiye Light Cavalry and the Struggle Over Ottoman Kurdistan, 1890-1914» (Princeton, 2002).
[60] Kodaman, *Sultan II. Abdülhamid Devri Doğu Anadolu Politikası*. p.29-32

[61] Klein, Janet, *Hamidiye Alayları - İmparatorluğun Sınır Boyları ve Kürt Aşiretleri*; Bruinessen, *Agha, shaikh, and state*., p. 185-186

was to civilize the Kurdish tribes;[62] however, in my opinion, the sultan's civilization policy was incitement against Armenians at the same time and the policy had the unity of Islam against non-Muslim people.

Indirectly these corps was used against the Armenians by the state and the leaders of the tribes until WWI and the Armenian genocide. The corps also wanted to convert Kızılbash and Yezidi people to Islam and they made banditry against the Armenian and Kurdish peasants with the state policy, so, this restructuring process of the region had several purposes; such as the region of Kurdistan would be taken under control against many enemies. The internal enemies were the Armenian people, Kızılbash and Yezidi Kurds. The external enemies were Russia and Iran. Abdulhamid preferred Kurdish people because the Kurds were Sunni.[63] Abdulhamid could gather Kurds around the identity of Islam, and Kurdish people defended Islamism and Ottomanism, hence, the sultan very easily turned them against the Armenians using these identities and the country or land policy.

Many people and historians knew Abdulhamid as the 'butcher and red sultan'. The reason for this was that, according to Armenians and Europeans, the sultan was responsible for the massacre of Armenian people during the 1890s.[64] However, there was a background story to this problem; the decision was made in favor of the Armenians in the Congress of Berlin in

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[62] Klein, Janet, *Hamidiye Alayları - İmparatorluğun Sınır Boyları ve Kürt Aşiretleri*.p.20-21

[63] Ibid, and see also, Avyarov, *Osmanlı-Rus ve İran Savaşları'nda Kürtler: 1801-1900* (Ankara: Sipan Yayıncılık Araştırma İthalat ve İhracat Merkezi, 1995).

[64] Klein, Janet. 2007. 'Çatışma ve İşbirliği: Abdulhamid Dönemi Kürt-Ermeni İlişkilerini Yeniden Değerlendirmek (1876-1909)' *Osmanlı Dünyasında Kimlik ve Kimlik Oluşumu.* Derleyen, Baki Tezcan, Karl L. Barbir. İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, p. 181; and see also, Kemal Süphandağ, *Büyük Osmanlı entrikası: Hamidiye alayları*, 1stEdition (İstanbul: Komal Basım Yayın Dağıtım, 2006).

1878. It is mainly discussed in the *Eastern Question*. As a result, the empire implemented reforms in the *vilayat-ı sitte* (six provinces), so Abdulhamid did not make this decision. Therefore, the Armenian people started to establish new organizations (Armenekan, Taşnak and Hınçak among 1885-1890).[65] Bayram Kodaman says that during these years, the 1890s and afterwards, the Western states in particular changed their policy against the Ottoman Empire and after the *Tanzimat*, they defended the unity of the Ottoman's land, however, this policy transformed within the 1890s and they wanted to break down the empire's territory. Therefore, the sultan took measures especially in the eastern part of the empire: the measures were organized around two issues; one of them was social balance –centralization-, the other was Islamism –and the danger of the Armenians -, and thus the sultan reorganized the policy in the east of the empire.[66] According to Kodaman, the Armenians were a dangerous group for the state and the sultan's policy was determined according to this point of view. On the other hand, the Armenian organizations began the struggle for Armenian rights using the ideas of nationalism and socialism.

The most vivid measure of Abdulhamid was the *Hamidiye Cavalry* that was created from the Kurdish tribes, hence, this organization wanted to use the sultan's policy in Kurdistan. Abdulhamid's regime made massacre or pogrom against the Armenians from Trabzon to Urfa in many cities around the empire, between 1894 and 1896.[67] The first of these massacres were

[65] Minassian,Ter Anaide, *Ermeni devrimci hareketi'nde milliyetçilik ve sosyalizm 1887-1912 / A. T. Minassian; cev. M. Tunçay*, Cep Üniversitesi (İstanbul: İletişim, 1992) ans see also Stebbins, Jeffrey W., «Bell and Banner: Armenian Revolutionaries at the End of the Ottoman Empire» (Naval Postgraduate School, 2011).

[66] Kodaman, *Sultan II. Abdülhamid Devri Doğu Anadolu Politikası*. p.26; see also Ali Karaca, *Anadolu ıslahâtı ve Ahmet Şakir Paşa, 1838-1899* (Beyoğlu, İstanbul: Eren, 1993).

[67] *Ermeni katliamları raporu: 1894-1895, İstanbul'da görevli altı büyükelçiliğin ortak hazırladığı istatistik*, 1. bsk (İstanbul: Pêrî Yayınları, 2012); and see also, Önal, Sami, *Sadettin Paşa'nın anıları: Ermeni-Kürt olayları (Van, 1896)*, 2nd Edition(İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 2004)

against the Armenians in Sason; they did not give tax to the state. This was an important reason for the state to start the massacre and after the era during two years, many pogroms occurred around the empire, in more than 40 villages, and dozens of cities. According to some historians, the massacre was a 'partial genocide.' Kieser says, the massacre was organized in mosques and targeted to kill men and sons of Armenians. The state sources list the total casualties as being 8000 people but according to Kieser who is a historian, the number of Armenians who were killed over those two years amount to more than 100.000 and according Armenian sources it reaches 300.000.[68] According to Kieser, the pogroms were the state policy however; Kurdish tribes that were members of the regiments participated in the massacre for their own interests in Kurdistan/West Armenia. In other words, they were merely driven by the state but at the same time, to participate was ultimately their decision. On the other hand, Stefanos Yerasimos raises an important point; according to him, Armenian organizations had quite a lot of responsibility during the period of the massacre. He analyzes Kurdish tribes and the Ottoman State and he argues that Armenian organizations and communities made too many mistakes.[69]

Why was he called the 'red sultan'? Almost all non-Muslim people that were members of the empire revolted against the empire due to the nationalism during the nineteenth century. The

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and J. Rendel Harris ve Hiperlink (Firm), *Ermeni Mektupları: (Ermenistan'daki yakın dönem Kırımlarından canlı tablolar)*, electronic resource (Yaba Yayınları,2008), http://www.hiperkitap.com/ekitap/ShowBookDetail.do?refer=list&id=BOOK2009121602540003997874. and see also, Şevket Beysanoğlu,, *Anıtları ve Kitabeleri ile Diyarbakır Tarihi*, Diyarbakır Belediyesi Yayınları. Diyarbakır'ı tanıtma Yayınları 1 (Diyarbakır, Turkey: Diyarbakır Belediyesi, 1996). p. 699-709 and see also for the official approach of the state; Münir Süreyya Bey, *Ermeni Meselesinin Siyasî Tarihçesi: (1877-1914)*, T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, yayın nu. 53 (Ankara: Başbakanlık Basımevi, 2001).

[68] Kieser, *Iskalanmış barış*. p. 199-218

[69] Yerasimos, Stefanos, *«18.-19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Azınlıkların Rolü ve Genel Evrim Ermeni Meselesi (Kürt Faktörü ve Dış müdahaleler)» 1856-1923 Emperyalizm Kıskacında Türkler, Ermeniler, Kürtler*, Yavi, Ersal (İzmir: Yazıcı Basım Yayıncılık, 2001).

Berlin Congress in particular was a great trauma for the ruling elites and Ottoman Muslim tebaa. Consequently, the Armenian demands coincided with this period and Abdulhamid centralized authority in the hands of the bureaucracy and established an autocratic system, his ideology was founded on the pragmatic pan-Islamist idea. Hence, there was no place for Armenians or non-Muslim people in general. As a result, Abdulhamid sacrificed Armenian people during that period. They organized the few movements against the empire with nationalist and socialist ideology during the 1880s and 1890s, because Abdulhamid did not implement the decisions of enhancing the rights of Armenians after the Berlin Congress. Abdulhamid answered the Armenians with local massacres, by organizing Muslim people against Armenians, especially Kurdish tribes, and Abdulhamid's policy used the local communities' religious enmity against each other. It was the most important example of Armenian and Kurdish relations, this process was a major break down between two groups.

After the proclamation of the constitution or the starting of the *Second Constitutional Era* Armenians were the ones that were mostly delighted about this situation. A new legal system was established and laws limited the authority of the 'red sultan' therefore, Armenians thought that it was a new period for their rights. The relationship between the Armenian intellectuals and CUP members was better than with Kurdish intellectuals, also the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF) also known as Dashnaktsutyun recognized the territorial integrity.[70] Between the members of CUP and Armenian intellectuals dialogues began about the Armenian question, 'agrarian question'. As we understand, Kurdish and Armenian intellectuals and organizations began to form a relationship with the Hamidiye Cavalry and the 'agrarian question.' The Kurdish newspaper and community *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki* and

[70] Kevorkian, *Ermeniler*.p.28

Armenian intellectuals formed a commission to try to answer questions between the two societies. Namely, the period began very well for Armenians, however immediately after the second constitutional era and *31 Mart Vakası,* a big massacre occurred against Armenians in Adana and according to CUP authorities, Abdulhamid and his followers made this massacre,[71] therefore, Abdulhamid II was blamed by CUP and the Adana massacre was forgotten! Armenian intellectuals wanted to continue a positive relationship with the new authority, on the other hand, among CUP members' Turkish nationalism became popular, the period (1908-1914) was complicated, and it was similar to the Berlin Congress period. After this defeat and the congress, the empire was obliged to choose a new ideological approach, which was Islamism. After the Balkan Wars, the empire ideologically regressed to its former period, but this time, the ideological approach was Turkish nationalism against non-Muslim people. Therefore, the period of 1908 to 1914 was a reform era for Armenian intellectuals, but on the other hand, for the CUP elites; the era was a process for establishing Pan-Turkism and Islamism. Moreover, the members of the CUP were reorganized by the state after the 1913-CUP congress.[72] Therefore, the reform period for Armenians was not identical to the Hamidian period reform process. Non-Muslim people, especially Armenians were a great danger for the CUP elites and their Turkish-Islamic new state. The problems between the Armenian and Kurdish people were not solved by the state and in addition to this; in 1914 the empire accepted a new deal with the Armenian people in the eastern part of the empire, especially in *vilayet-i sitte.* According to the agreement, two foreign governors were responsible for the Armenian reform process. The state accepted this condition but never used it. They were waiting! The situation continued until WWI and within this process, true genocide was carried out against the Armenians and Kurdish Tribes Cavalries, notables of

[71] Ibid. p.30

[72] Dündar, Fuat. *Modern Türkiye'nin Şifresi: İttihat ve Terakki'nin Etnisite Mühendisliği, 1913-1918*, 3. baskı, İletişim yayınları ; Araştırma-inceleme dizisi 1322. 225 (Cağaloğlu, İstanbul: İletişim, 2008).

towns, ordinary Kurdish Muslim people and some Kızılbash tribes preconditioned in the genocide in the east of the empire, in addition, some of the Kurdish people helped the Armenian people during this terrible period.

Janet Klein analyzed this period and asked why Kurdish people attacked and killed Armenian people during the 1890s. She says that Armenian society defended the Armenian militants; therefore Kurdish people got support from the Great Powers, which consequently began to become involved in the issue of Armenian confiscation of Kurdish territory. That was their worry. When the state provoked Kurdish people against Armenians, they used the argument that their territory will be lost; then, the Armenian people began their rebellion in Sason and then massacre started. Klein mentions that Abdullah Cevdet and a few other Kurdish intellectuals told the Kurds to kill Armenians, so it was a provocation of the state and it was Abdulhamid's policy, thus Cevdet was accusing the Hamidiye Cavalry (who became the Tribes Cavalry after 1909),of causing a great problem between the two communities. The reason being that the tribal regiments massacred the Armenians, and the main culprit was Abdulhamid.[73] Many Kurdish tribe leaders killed Armenians for their own reasons and at the same time; Kurdish tribes supported Abdulhamid against Russia. Consequently, Abdulhamid created a buffer zone with this tribe organization that Abdulhamid's Islamist policy continued with a helping hand from Kurds and the Kurdish tribes' leaders. The CUP elites continued to believe that Abdulhamid was acting against Armenians, but they changed their method; The CUP administrators began meeting with Armenian intellectuals and parliamentarians.

[73] Klein, Janet. 2007. 'Çatışma ve İşbirliği: Abdulhamid Dönemi Kürt-Ermeni İlişkilerini Yeniden Değerlendirmek (1876-1909)' *Osmanlı Dünyasında Kimlik ve Kimlik Oluşumu.* Derleyen, Baki Tezcan, Karl L. Barbir. İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, p. 193

CHAPTER III: Press in the Late Ottoman Empire

Press and publishing started quite late in the Ottoman Empire compared to European countries, in which the practice of opening modern printing houses had been established in the mid-fifteenth century; however, the Ottoman Empire did not accept this innovative new publishing method until 1727 when the first printing house was established by İbrahim Muteferrika in his house in Istanbul. Members of '*ilmiyye sınıfı* (class of enlightenment)' did not want this printing technique, because they were afraid this innovation would make them redundant. Therefore, any similar ideas were blocked in publishing and in the press. In spite of this, Şeyhülislam Yenişehirli Abdullah Efendi allowed the printing house to produce with the condition that religious books could not be printed using the new technique. After this, Muteferrika printed books until his death in 1745.[74] The empire then began to build a printing house in the same way but it began too late for publishing. The first Ottoman Turkish newspaper known as *Takvim-i Vekayi*, was founded in 1831, however according to Orhan Koloğlu *Vakayi-i Mısriye* was the first newspaper and it was bilingual, in both Ottoman Turkish and Arabic. Before this period, Ottoman Sultans translated the European (especially in İzmir French) newspapers. The aim of the *Vakayi-I Mısriye* was to monitor agricultural, industrial, and any other social development that that spoke to western innovation. After this newspaper ended a different newspaper *Vakayi-i Giridiye* was published. It was bilingual in both Greek and Turkish. Mehmet Ali Pasha published it in 1830. *Takvim-i Vekayi* was the third newspaper in the empire. *Mahmut II in Istanbul published Takvim-I Vekayi newspaper* in 1831. It was the official newspaper and it aimed to give timely internal and external events. At first it was published weekly but little by little it began to be published more (for example;

[74] Akşin, Sina. *Türkiye Tarihi*, c 1 (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 2000).

15, 20 or 31 issues in the one year). [75] William Churchill who was a British citizen in 1840 prepared the second newspaper. However the first public (unofficial) newspaper existed in 1860 under the name of *Teciman-ı Ahval* by Şinasi and Agah Efendi. The purpose of all newspapers was to inform about news and innovations from the West and newspaper writers were generally from the *Babıali Tercüme Odası* / Translation Center. [76] After the 1850s, the Ottoman press gradually began to increase and many newspapers were published up until the Second Constitutional Era.

The Ottoman press focused on both daily and weekly newspapers and the situation established a new culture in the empire about reading and publication. Orhan Koloğlu discusses a very important point; Koloğlu claims people of the Western Countries adopted the culture of reading, especially books, but the people of the Ottoman Empire relied heavily on oral culture and their lives were shaped with this traditional belief and practice. This social idea shaped the Ottoman press and publications; for instance the Western countries' reading culture grew along with the publishing of books and reading. However, the Ottoman press grew with the newspaper, not book publishing, and according to Koloğlu, the Ottoman press's approach was superficial, because the format of a newspaper was based on a short period of time, it was not an ideological thought, and it was not scientific. The newspaper creates a public sphere and mentality or zeitgeist, it does not create scientific depth. According to this approach, the society of the Ottoman Empire was met with a superficial press so the foundation of the

[75] In the same period 59 newspapers were published in Paris, and annual circulation was 42 million, in London, there were 42 newspapers and annual circulation was 39 million! Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türkiye'de Basın, pp:11-16
Orhan Koloğlu, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türkiye'de Basın*, 2nd.ed ed, Series Cep Üniversitesi; 89 (İstanbul : İletişim, 1994, 1994).Orhan Koloğlu, *Osmanlı'dan 21. yüzyıla basın tarihi*, Pozitif Yayınları. Sosyal Tarih Dizisi (İstanbul: Pozitif Yayınları, 2006); Hakan Aydın, ed, *İkinci meşrutiyet devrinde basın ve siyaset*, Birinci Baskı © Konya, Ekim 2010, Palet Yayınları: 40 (Konya: Palet Yayınları, 2010).

[76] Topuz, Hıfzı. *II. Mahmut'tan Holdinglere Türk Basın Tarihi* (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 2003).

Ottoman intellectual life was not about the emergence of new ideas and creating thought.[77] CUP was also affected by this superficial consciousness. Şerif Mardin points out that; they didn't have a philosophy and ideology for this period's thought [78] Hence the intellectual of the empire especially members of the committee carried this approach until the Republic period and even until today. There was only an exception and short interim, which was during the early Second Constitutional Era.

The Kurdish Press in the Ottoman Empire

The Kurdish press emerged in Cairo where it settled outside of Kurdistan and the capital of the empire[79] and 'Kurdistan'[80] which also was the name of the first Kurdish newspaper. Mikdat Midhat Bedirkhan who was the son of Emir Bedirkhan and was Emirate of Cizîr published the newspaper. The newspaper was founded in 22 April 1898 (Hicri Calendar 1315) in Cairo (later, it will be published in various places in Europe) and was published in El-Hilal Matbaası. All issues had four pages and the newspaper was published every two weeks under the title Kurdistan. The first three issues were in Kurdish, and afterwards the issues started to be published in Turkish, after the 24th issue, the *Kurdistan* newspaper was published monthly and its title was changed to *Kurdish and Turkish newspaper* instead of Kurdish newspaper, therefore, the newspaper became bilingual. The situation was the same for many newspapers

[77] Koloğlu, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türkiye'de Basın*; and see also, Orhan Koloğlu, *Osmanlı'dan 21. yüzyıla basın tarihi*, Pozitif Yayınları. Sosyal Tarih Dizisi (İstanbul: Pozitif Yayınları, 2006); Hakan Aydın, ed, *İkinci meşrutiyet devrinde basın ve siyaset*, Birinci Baskı © Konya, Ekim 2010, Palet Yayınları: 40 (Konya: Palet Yayınları, 2010).

[78] Mardin, Şerif. *Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri, 1895-1908*, 6. bsk, Şerif Mardin, toplu eserleri 1 (İst: İletişim Yayınları, 1999), kit 16.

[79] Celil, *Kürt Aydınlanması*. p. 7-12

[80] You can see of the two issues of Kürt Tarihi Journal as 8th and 9th on Kurdish Press in Ottoman Period; Yeğen, Mesut, 'Kürt Tarihi,' no. 8 (Ağustos-Eylül 2013), Yeğen, Mesut, 'Kürt Tarihi,' no. 9 (Ekim-Kasım 2013), and Malmîsanij, *İlk Kürt gazetesi Kurdıstan'ı yayımlayan Abdurrahman Bedirhan, 1868-1936*, Araştırma, inceleme 5 (Beyoğlu, İstanbul: Vate Yayınevi, 2009).

of that period. The Turkish language generally dominated over other languages. There was a small note to the right hand side of the newspaper's title that read; 'I will send two thousand free newspapers to Kurdistan and the same was written on the left hand side of the newspaper in Turkish. Annual subscription was 80 kuruş.'[81] The newspaper had 31 issues, after it was published in different places (Baghdad, Uppsala, South Kurdistan, Cairo, and Tehran) however; some issues such as the 19th issue are still missing.[82] Mikdat Midhat Bedirkhan mentioned the aim of the newspaper in the first issue; people all around the world had newspapers but the Kurdish people did not have a newspaper to be informed either about the country or about other countries and regions. For this reason, 'I wrote this newspaper in the way of God. I wrote every two weeks a newspaper with the permission of the supreme God. I put the name Kurdistan. I will write about the importance of science and information in this newspaper. I will show the Kurds where the best schools are. Which wars are in which places, what the great states are doing, how are they fighting? How do they trade? I will tell all.'[83] Bedirkhan wanted to inform people about the world and about a variety of things ranging from education to trade and this idea was shaped with the all-Kurdish press up until the Republic period. The newspaper had Kurdish ideals but it defended Ottoman unity (it had two agendas). This may seem like a contradiction today but back then the Ottoman State did not reject Kurdish identity although it hindered the dissemination of newspapers. This was a contradiction among families of the Kurdish elite and the state during that period. Consequently, the Kurdish intellectual group was defending the Kurdish people's progress but they also wanted to defend the territory's unity because the newspaper was not merely for Kurdish people's rights.

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[81] Bozarslan, *Kurdistan*, 1991, 59–61.

[82] Ibid,

[83] Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Kurdistan: Rojnama Kurdî ya Pêşîn = İlk Kürd gazetesi, 1898-1902* (Uppsala, Sweden: Weşanxana Deng, 1991), 19.

On July 24th 1908, a formal notice of four lines appeared in the newspapers of Istanbul that announced the Second Constitution. The newspapers wrote that there would be new elections, and this news created enthusiasm at all newspaper-publishing houses in Istanbul, because they had gotten rid of the autocracy of Abdulhamid II. According to Orhan Koloğlu, this period was not a 'press boom' it was a kind of 'press frenzy.'[84] *Per contra*, he wrote '1908 Press Boom' in his different book.[85] The publishers of newspapers of the period gathered together in a restaurant's garden and there they laid the foundations of the society, which was named 'Osmanlı Matbuat Cemiyeti' (Ottoman Press Society). There was a new freedom in Istanbul in everything and especially concerning the press and on the following day the newspapers published without censorship on July 25th 1908. More than two hundred applications were received for concession from the state for the establishment of new newspapers within two months and of the number of newspapers increased from 2000 to 50.000. Before the Second Constitution, there were not a lot of newspapers. However, newspaper production increased during the Second Constitutional Era, for instance, from the Second Constitutional until 1912 probably 607 newspapers and journal were published, and until 1918 almost 918 newspapers and journal were published all this within a period of ten years. Many different cultures, ideas, and ethnic groups started to publish after the press boom. However, the party of CUP prepared a new code of laws regarding the press (*Matbuat Kanunu*/Law of Press) and then slowly the freedom of press began to disappear in April 1909.[86] Many different groups in the empire published new newspapers and journal within this short 'freedom' time.

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[84] Koloğlu, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türkiye'de Basın*, 54.

[85] Koloğlu, Orhan, *1908 Basın Patlaması* (İstanbul: BAS-HAŞ, 2005).

[86] Topuz, *II. Mahmut'tan Holdinglere Türk Basın Tarihi*, 83–85.

Kurdish writers and intellectuals also gathered together during that era and formed a new society and they subsequently published a newspaper about it. The newspaper's name was *Kürd Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi* (The Kurdish Solidarity and Progress Newspaper) but after a while, the newspaper was closed by the new regime. Subsequently, different Kurdish intellectuals opened a new newspaper by the name of *Rojî Kurd* in 1913. It was published for a short period and afterwards the CUP closed it again. The intellectual group prepared a new newspaper with similar means (Hetawî Kurd)[87] and the process was a period of struggle between Kurdish intellectuals and leaders of the *CUP*. During these years, CUP's ideas changed towards supporting Turkish nationalism; consequently, prohibitions of the press started again just like during the Hamidian period. Nevertheless the Kurdish press continued.

The other journal *Rojî Kurd* was published by *Kürt Talebe Hêvî Cemiyeti* in June 19, 1913 and continued until September 12th, 1913.[88] There were four issues of the journal, each issue was thirty-two pages, and it was published in two dialects of Kurdish; Soranî and Kurmancî as well as Turkish.[89] There is the picture of Selahaddin Eyyubi on the cover of the first issue. It was the second periodical that was published by a Kurdish foundation after the newspaper, and although there were some writers who wrote for the previous periodicals as well, the discourse of this journal was different from the previous ones. During this period, journals were published under a liberal atmosphere, which appeared with the implementation of second constitution but disappeared when the CUP started to adopt a nationalist agenda; the CUP took advantage of losing the Balkan Wars and struck the government. By taking control

[87] Although the words "Roj" and "Hetaw" have similar meanings, there is a nuisance. While "roj"signs to the sun, "hetaw" also refers to sun shines. But since these two succesive journals have the same ideolojical and political cement, this difference stays so facile.

[88] Kaya,Fetullah. *Kürt Basını* (İstanbul: Hîvda İletişim, 2010). p.105

[89] Malmîsanij, *Li Kurdistana Bakur û li Tirkiyê Rojnamegeriya Kurdî (1908-1981)*,p. 53,54

of the government, they demolished the liberal atmosphere that appeared after the second constitution. *Rojî Kurd*, which was published during this period, was different from other periodicals, which were for them. The articles published in the periodicals were mainly about the importance of studying the Kurdish language,[90] literature, and history, rather than emphasizing the 'High Ottoman Identity.' There were almost as many Kurdish articles as Turkish ones. Although Kurdish elites did not mention the Kurdish nationalism as a discourse, they studied the Kurdish language and culture, so we can say that their ideology was proto-Kurdish nationalism.

Kürt Talebe Hêvî Cemiyeti published a different journal *Hetawî Kurd* (Kurdish Sun)[91] and the same writer cadre kept writing in this journal as well. The journal was written in both Kurdish and Turkish. The exact number of issues published is not known, however it is known that the tenth issue was published on June 3rd, 1914.[92] WWI began in July 1914; it is possible that no other issues were published after the tenth one. The Journal's 6, 7, 8 and 9th issues are not available, but the other issues can be found in libraries in Turkey. Like other publications published by the society, this journal was also concerned with Kurdish enlightenment. It proposed agendas to open primary, secondary, high schools and schools devoted to the arts and agriculture in Kurdistan. Some of the journal's writers called to Kurdish youth via an article to work as a teacher in the villages instead of aspiring to be a province governor.[93]

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[90] Unless otherwise indicated, the term of Kurdish language will be used for Kurmanji dialect.

[91] The journal has just 1,2,3,4-5 and 10 issues in the Atatürk Library in Taksim. http://katalog.ibb.gov.tr/yordambt12/yordam.php?-vt=YordamBT12&ac=arama&betik=hetav&bolumsanal=008

[92] Kaya, *Kürt Basını*. p. 114-115

[93] Malmîsanij, *Li Kurdistana Bakur û li Tirkiyê rojnamegeriya Kurdî (1908-1981)*, 62.

The thesis will focus on the approach regarding the Armenian and Kurdish question in the two Kurdish newspapers (*Kurdistan* and *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Newspaper*, and two journals *Rojî Kurd* and *Hetaw-î Kurd and one pamphlet*) in the Kurdish intellectuals' writings. However in this period there were different Kurdish newspapers and journals; *Şark ve Kurdistan* in 1908, Istanbul; *Kurdistan* newspaper (it was second Kurdistan) in 1908-1909, Istanbul; *Amid-i Sevda* in 1909, Istanbul; *Peyman* in 1909, Diyarbakır; *Yekbûn* in 1913, İstanbul; but the thesis will focus merely on the four publications and one pamphlet.[94]

[94] Yeğen, Mesut, *Kürt Tarihi* Journal, 8th and 9th issues.; Müslüm Yücel, *Kürt Basın Tarihi: Tekzip*, Aram yayınları ; Araştırma-inceleme 4. 3 (İstanbul: Aram Basın Yayın, 1998). ; Kaya, *Kürt basını*. and Malmîsanij & Mahmud Lewendî, *Rojnamegeriya Kurdi (1908 - 1992)*, 2. ed (Ankara: Öz-Ge Yayınları, 10:42:47).

PART B: ANALYSIS OF THE KURDISH PRESS

CHAPTER IV: Kurdistan Newspaper and Approach of Abdurrahman Bedirkhan

The newspaper *Kurdistan* was published by the Bedirkhan brothers between the years of 1898-1902. 31 issues were published. Mehmet Emin Bozarslan prepared the newspaper, and he translated 26 issues in 1991 in two volumes. Bozarslan's book does not include the 10th, 12th, 17th, 18th and 19th issues. In the following year, in 1992 Malmisanij published the 17th and 18th issues in Sweden.[95] In addition, Zend, which is the Istanbul Kurdish Institute's Kurdish journal, was published as two different issues 10th and 12th and was prepared by Celile Celil.[96] There is only the 19th issue missing, as some of them have not been found until today. All these sources were a transcript of the Kurdish and Turkish language using the Latin alphabet. On the other hand, the newspaper *Kurdistan's* first edition was published by Dr. Kemal Fuad using the Arabic alphabet in 1972 and the Kurdistan Regional Government published a second edition in 2005 and a third edition in 2006. The books were printed in the same format as the original and only the 19th issue does not exist.[97]

Kurdish press historians generally divide the *Kurdistan* newspaper in two periods, one concerns the timeline and the other is the approach. Mikdad Mithad Bedirkhan in Cairo

[95] Malmîsanij, *Abdurrahman Bedirhan ve İlk Kürt Gazetesi Kurdıstan Sayı: 17 ve 18*, 2. bsk, Kitap (Spanga/Sweden, 1992). This book is not any library in Turkey, I provided from the special library as pdf.

[96] Celile, Celil, «‹Kurdistan› û çîroka her du hejmarên wê yên winda», *Zend* Bihar 2007, sayı 6 (2007): 104–23. Ibid.

[97] Collected&Introduced by Dr. Kamal Fuad, *Kurdistan The First Kurdish Newspaper 1898-1902*, 3. ed (Tahran, 2006). The book is available in the Ismail Beşikci Research Library
Issı, Murat, «Kürt Basını ve Kürdistan Gazetesi (1898 - 1902)», *e - Şarkiyat İlmi Araştırmalar Dergisi*, sayı 9 (2013): 127–47.

published the first five issues; historians view this period viewed as the first phase of this newspaper. Later Mikdat Mithad had to go to Istanbul and his brother Abdurrahman Sami Bedirkhan continued printing the newspaper in different places. According to Murat Issı, the period of Abdurrahman was also divided into two terms; his second period lasted until 1900 and his third period had begun by the time he met with the Young Turks.[98] The newspaper's issues between the 6th and 19th were published in Geneva, Switzerland, the issues between the 20th to the 23rd were published in Egypt/Cairo, and the 24th issue through to the 29th was published in London and Folkston. Issues 30 and 31 were published in Geneva.[99]

When Mikdat Mithad published the first issue he had stated the aim of the newspaper, which focused on news around the Ottoman Empire, about Kurdistan, education and the civilization of the Kurdish people.[100] The Kurdish and Armenian communities' relationship was also a subject of the newspaper. However, in the first issue of the newspaper, the relation was not mentioned. Mostly he wanted to give a message to Sultan Abdulhamid about the Kurdish society's situation. Therefore, during this period, the newspaper used moderate and conciliatory policy towards the sultan. The second period was a radical critique period and the third period was liaising with the Young Turks community. Therefore, the policy of the newspaper was not perpetually the same and accordingly, the approach of the newspaper for my studies is divided into two periods; the first period is usually devoted to giving a message to the sultan and Kurdish community. The second term covers many different subjects, one of them being Kurdish-Armenian relations. We do not know content of the 19th issue but among

[98] Issı, Murat, «Kürt Basını ve Kürdistan Gazetesi (1898 - 1902)». p. 133-134

[99] Ibid. p.31-32

[100] Bozarslan, *Kurdistan*, 1991. p. 61

other issues, we can show writings discussing the Armenians. For instance within the 31 issues 14 issues (7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31st issues) were mentioned by Abdurrahman Bedirkhan regarding Armenian-Kurdish relations. On the other hand, some of the newspaper's issues (1, 2, 3, 8, 9, 11, 15 and 16th issues) were published solely in Kurdish, other issues were bilingual in both Kurdish and Turkish.[101] Mikdat Midhat did not write about the relationship between the two societies, but his brother Abdurrahman was interested in this question.

In the *Kurdistan* newspaper periods mentioned above; in the first period (first five issues or Mikdat Mithad's period) there was generally no writing on the subject of the Armenians. However when Abdurrahman controlled the newspaper, he began to analyze the Armenian question and he started to discuss this question in the seventh issue. His writing title was 53rd sura The Star (An-Najm) and 39th ayat from Quran; 'leyse lil insâni illâ mâ seâ/ mirov çi qas bixebite, hew qas dibine/''that man can have nothing but what he strives for''[102] '' Abdurrahman wrote that the Kurdish people were a brave people and they should learn an art or craft after which they should serve their society. Kurds, you can look at your own situation and your neighbor Moskof. Kurdish society is the same as it was a thousand years ago. Your neighbors have ingenuity and crafts, and they have the state. Kurds have remained skinny and helpless. All the great states want to give our land to the Armenians. Our sultan does not think of the Kurds, he regales himself, if the Kurdish people do not understand their situation, some day other states will take over their country, and therefore they are telling Kurdistan will

[101] Issı, Murat, «Kürt Basını ve Kürdistan Gazetesi (1898 - 1902)». p. 132

[102] http://www.kuranikerim.com/english/53.html

become Armenia.[103] Bedirkhan mentioned the ignorance of Kurdish society and he was afraid that Kurdistan would be removed, because after the Berlin Congress the great states pressured the Ottoman Empire about the reform for Armenians. Accordingly, Armenian people revived this reform decision regarding the east of the empire.

> Armenian nationalism was also a growing force challenging the control of the Ottoman government over eastern Anatolia. Already a visible intellectual movement by the middle of the century, ideas of socialism and nationalism combined with attempts by Armenians to protect their peasant compatriots who too often were becoming victims of oppression by local Kurdish bandits and who were not sufficiently protected by the State, led them to establish various revolutionary organizations with aims ranging from the struggle for equality within the confines of an Ottoman framework and other reforms to outright independence.[104]

In the same territory, two communities (Kurdish and Armenian) lived together for a long time, and as the first signs of Kurdish nationalism emerged in that period so did Armenian nationalism. Thus, he is writing a definition of the Kurdish identity, both on Armenian nationalism or taking the example from the Armenian nationalism. Bedirkhan who wrote an article in the 27th issue as 'To Kurds' argued all nations take into consideration its national interests, Kurds also!

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[103] Bozarslan, *Kurdistan*, 1991. p. 198
'Kurd bi xilqeta xwe miroven camer û jehatî ne. Heger bielimin huneren vî zemanî ew xwe jî we rahet bikin, saya wan dewleta Islame jî we xurt bibe Ji wî rûyî, dinya û axrete serfiraz bibin.
Gelî Kurdno! Careke fekirin halen xwe û halen cîrane xwe Mosqof. Berî hezar sala Kurd çawa bîn, îro dîsa we ne. Le cîranen we xweymarîfet û sin'et . bîne, xweydewlet bîne. Kurd jar û reben mane. Dewleten mezin hemî diven Kurdistane bidin Ermenîya. Xunkare me jî qet fenakire Kurda (17) û hema ri- hetîya xwe diğere.'

[104] Klein, Janet, «Power in the Periphery: Hamidiye Light Cavalry and the Struggle Over Ottoman Kurdistan, 1890-1914». Ibid. p. 29-30

Kurdish people! As human, being an individual has to prepare all necessary ways and methods and living alone is impossible for humans and also living by joining a society is a kind of necessity, the life, interest and happiness of each individual is exactly related to the society he or she is joined to. Therefore, defending one's honor and self-esteem, which are more precious than life, and trying to make that society's life last take precedence of anything for each honorable human? The life of society is maybe connected with the idea that the land called 'motherland' of his or hers on where he or she has grown up cannot be treaded under foot of enemies. So, each nation is motivating by taking its national interest into consideration and finds the personal interests inside the national ones.[105]

[105] Abdurrahman Bedirkhan continues the continuation of the article on the definition of the nation; 'Padişahın en büyük arzusu, sizin içinde bulunduğunuz bilimsizlik ve bilgisizlik karanlığından yararlanarak, işlediği bunca fenalıkları sizin bu gibi davranışlarınızla örtbas etmek ve ona karşılık, içinizden seçtiği birkaç alçağı, artık köpeklerin bile kabul etmeye tenezzül etmediği iki rütbeyle ya da birkaç nişan parçasıyle avutup, hepinizin gözünü boyamaktır (…) Bunca küçük uluslar var ki, sürekli çalışma ve gayretlerinin sonucu olarak, bağlı bulundukları hükümetlerin acımasızlık ve zulmünden kendilerini kurtardılar ve mutlu bir duruma geldiler. Siz ise, bu gibi uluslara uyup mut¬luluğunuzu, rahatınızı, namusunuzu, haysiyetinizi koruyup güvence altına alacak yerde, birbirinizi öldürmek ve böylece gücünüzü kırmakla, gerçek düşman olan Padişahın zulümlerine daha çok meydan vermek gibi körcesi¬ne bir davranışta bulunmakla, elinizdeki hançeri kendi elinizle kalbinize so¬kar gibi bir cinayette bulunuyorsunuz. Ermenileri öldürdünüz. Onları öldürmek, ün salmış bulunan iyilikseverliğinizin ve babayiğitliğinizin şanına sığar mı! Sığsa bile, onların rahat ve refahlarını koruyan ve şu kadar yıllardan beri kendileriyle kardeşçesine geçinen atalarınızdan utanmayacak mısınız! 'Bizim vatandaşlarımıza niçin eziyet ettiniz?' yolunda bir soru sorsalar, acaba ne yanıt verirsiniz! Yüzünüz kızarmaz mı!' (However, you are not making anything except working on the behalf of Abdulhamid, his cruel officers and supporters; though Abdulhamid has made you slaughter many helpless Armenian citizens and even their children and women and so made you become hated persons in both World and infamize. Moreover, he made you deprived from any kind of civilization developments and happiness of knowledge and freedom and leaded to disturbances in order to determine his personal interests and implement his illegal aims (…)The Sultan's biggest desire is to cover up his badnesses with your kind of acts by using your darkness of awareness and lack of science. For this purpose, choosing some rascals and comforting them with two ranks and some medals even dogs cannot accept now and pull the wool over your eyes. (...) There are so many nations that have saved themselves from mercilessness and cruelty of government they are depending on and had peace as a result of continuously lasting conflict and efforts. However, you are killing yourselves and losing your strength and behaving blindly by causing Sultan, the real enemy, make more cruelty, so all these acts mean that you are committing murder as sticking dagger in your hands in your heart. You do not prefer suiting these nations and preserving and making certain of your happiness, comfort honor, and pride. You killed Armenian. Does killing them befit your dignity that acquired fame of goodness and bravery! Although it befits your dignity, won't you become embarrassed with your ancestor that preserved their comfort and welfare and got on well with them as their brothers and sisters for many years? How would you answer if they asked 'why did you torture our citizens?' would your face flush?) Bozarslan, *Kurdistan*, 1991. p. 481-484

In addition, Shaikh Ubeydullah's letter that was sent to American missionary was the first example of Kurdish nationalism.[106] A few years later, the famous Kurdish patriotic poet Hacı Qadir Qoyî (1815-1897) wrote a poem about the Kurdish people and Kurdistan, and within the poetry, there were proto-Kurdish nationalist elements. Qoyi wrote much about poetry and gave his Dîwan to Abdulrezak Berdikhan Bey, who was brother of Abdurrahman, but later Abdulrezak bey was arrested and was killed by a member of CUP, his jewels and Qoyi's Dîvan disappeared. Afterwards, a Kurdish patriotic Abdurrahman Said Bey collected Qoyi's poetries and published them in Baghdad in 1925.[107] His following verse about Kurdish nationalism is famous:

> I swear a hundred times on the Koran that there has been no effort left
>
> If an Armenia gets established, not even one Kurd will remain[108]

This was really interesting, because the verses of the poet involve the enemy and the fear of the Armenians and Armenia. On the other hand this poem is telling us about the main source of Kurdish nationalism. It tells us that Kurdish nationalism didn't arise because of and against the Ottoman Empire rather that this reflexive nationalism occurred as a reaction to Armenian nationalism. The most important point here is the special position of Haci Qadir Qoyi, because he is one of the teachers of the Bedirkhan Pashazades. Perhaps he had an influence on

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[106] Özoğlu, *Osmanlı Devleti ve Kürt milliyetçiliği*. p. 99; other side Özoğlu mentioned the effect of Kurdistan newspaper, 'This was the first newspaper published in the Kurdish (Kurmancı) language. Although the major theme in the newspaper was not to promote Kurdish nationalism but to criticize the regime of Sultan Abdulhamid II, it made the Kurds more visible in the Ottoman intellectual life.' Özoğlu,, «'Nationalism' and Kurdish Notables in the Late Ottoman-Early Republiccan Era'». p. 398

[107] Emin Zeki Bey, Mehmed, *Kürd ve Kürdistan ünlüleri*, 3. bs, Öz-Ge Yayınları 33 (Ankara: Öz-Ge Yayınları, 2005). p. 292

[108] Hacî Qadirî Koyî (1815-1897), *Dîwan* (Stockholm: Nefel, 2004).
'Hîç xîretêk nemawe sed car qesembe Qur'an
Peydabe Ermenistan namênê yek le kurdan'

Abdurrahman Bedirkhan with respect to Kurdish culture and nation (alism). Yener Koç mentions the following regarding their relationship:

> It should be noted that Bedirxan Pashazades as a powerful family paid attention to their children's education. In their *Sicill-i Ahvâl* records, it can be seen that most of them had also private teachers (*Muallimîn-i mahsûsa*) mostly teaching them in foreign languages.131 Hacı Qadir Qoyî (1817-1897), the Kurdish patriotic poet was also one of the private teachers of the young Bedirxan Pashazades most probably teaching them in Kurdish.[109]

Abdurrahman Bedirkhan began to define the Kurdish identity but he had more than one identity, perhaps he had multiple identities being an Ottoman citizen. For instance, when he participated in the Congress of the Young Turks (Congress of Ottoman Libertarians) in Paris in 1902, Armenian delegates wanted French to be spoken in the Congress, because few Armenians delegates knew Turkish. Bedirkhan wrote an article about this question in the last issue (31st issue) of Kurdistan, he criticized this situation and asked why they did not speak our official language; Turkish![110]

> Another sad state of congress was that meetings were made in the French language not Turkish which was our official language with the reason that a few Armenian delegates did not know Turkish was a reasonable grounds in a board in which all

[109] Yener Koç, «Bedirxan Pashazades Power Relations and Nationalism (1876-1914)» (Unpublished Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2012).p. 54

[110] 'Kongrenin en çok üzüntüye neden olan bir durumu da, delegeleri tümüyle Osmanlı olan bu kurulda birkaç Ermeni delegenin Türkçe bilmemesi haklı bir neden sayılarak, görüşmelerin resmi dilimiz olan Türkçeden çok Fransız diliyle yapılmasıydı. Orada bulunan birkaç delege, Fransızca bilmedikleri dolayısıyle, yapılan görüşmelerin çevrilebilen ancak küçük bir bölümünü anladılar ve büyük bölümüne hepten yabancı kalarak, görüşlerini daha iyi açıklayamadılar. Fransızca bilmeyenler, Türkçe bilmeyenlerden daha çoktu; aslında kongrede Osmanlı ümmetine özgü bir kongreydi; söz konusu ümmetin resmi dili de Türkçe olduğuna göre, Bakanlık makamı tarafından görüşmelerin Fransızca yapılmasına izin verilmesi pek çirkin görüldü ve Fransızca bilen ve bilmeyen birçok delegenin ümitsizliğe düşmelerine ve düş kırıklığına uğramalarına neden oldu.'

> delegates were Ottomans. As there were some delegates not knowing French, they understood a little part of kongress that was translated. Therefore they were not even able to express their ideas as they were not very competent on the issue. There were more people who did not know French than Turkish. Actually, the congress was peculiar to Ottoman ummah. And as official language of ummah said was Turkish, the permission that meetings would be made in French given by Office of the Presidency was found wrong. Therefore, many delegates who knew French or not fell in despair and were disappointed.[111]

Not only did he give Kurdish people a message regarding civilizing Kurdish society, and also regarding the perceived threat from Armenia; at the same time, he wrote about the oppression against Armenians by civil servants of the empire and Kurdish people. Bedirkhan continues from the same article; a state official came here and they killed the cruel Armenian people, Kurds should not kill the Armenians like the state, because they are oppressed, God also is not wanting this situation.[112]

The Armenian Massacres and Kurds

In the eighth issue (November 1898) Bedirkhan wrote again about the Armenian massacre in Kurdistan:

> There is a war between Kurds and Armenians and I know Kurds killed many sinless Armenians for no reason. God do not accept this situation, Kurds did it because of ignorance. The killing of Armenians is the same as the killing of Muslim people.

[111] Bozarslan, *Kurdistan*, 1991. *Congress of Ottoman Libertarians*, in the last issue of Kurdistan : p. 570
[112] Ibid.p. 199

> Kurdish scholars/alims are responsible for this condition, because they can show kindness and evil to Kurdish people and they do not kill the sinless.[113]

Bedirkhan was accepting the killing of Armenians by Kurdish people, and he was asking to prevent these slaughters, therefore when he wrote about the Armenian massacre he was arguing against the uncivilized Kurdish. On the other hand, he called to all Kurdish scholars, to rid the society of ignorance. In addition, he gave an example from a few years ago using Sheikh Ubeydullah.

> A few years ago, in a meeting in Van which was held with the Sultan's rule it was decided to seduce Kurdish people into slaughtering the Armenians. However Sheikh Ubeydullah withdrew from the meeting by telling that 'this kind of killing of Armenian is against God's rules and it would cause the cruel Sultan to topple from the throne and be discharged from his position'. He also added that 'this kind of will does not benefit the Sultan.) and withdrew from the meeting.[114]

Abdurrahman Bedirkhan's claims regarding the Kurdish people are significant, because these claims are true. On the other hand, Bedirkhan was not born and raised in Kurdistan, he was a well traveled intellectual of that era, so, he knew all western and modern culture and he made comparisons between the western world and his 'country.' In other words, according to his ideas, Armenian people were closer to the western/modern cultures than Kurdish people were. There could be truth in this point of view because we know that there were hundreds of

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[113] Ibid. p. 209

[114] 'Birkaç yıl önce Van'da Padişahın emriyle düzenlenen bir toplantıda, Kürdleri Ermenilerin katliâmına itip kışkırtmak için karar verildiğinde, o toplantıda bulunan rahmetli Şeyh Ubeydullah,'Ermenilerin bu şekilde öldürülmelerinin Tanrı'nın emirlerine aykırı olduğundan, böyle bir iradeyi çıkaran bir padişahın ise zalim ve Tanrı'nın emirlerine karşı gelmiş olacağından, zalim bir padişahın ise tahttan indirilip görevden uzaklaştırılmasının gerekli olacağından, bu gibi iradenin Padişah hakkında hayırlı olamayacağını' bildirerek toplantıdan çekilmişti.' Bozarslan, *Kurdistan*, 1991. p. 483

Armenian schools in which modern training was being provided for Armenian children in Kurdistan/West Armenia. Contrary to this, the Kurdish people's situation was not the same, they only had many madrassas, and it was only teaching traditional education. There was only one Tribe School in Istanbul for sons of Arabian, Kurdish, and Albanian tribes' leaders. The school was opened only for Arabian children before but after the establishment of Hamidiye Cavalries Kurdish tribes' leaders, Kurdish children and then Albanian children took offence to the school.[115] Consequently, we cannot compare the education conditions of Armenian and Kurdish children because, Armenian people had hundreds of education institutions, but the Kurdish people's situation was not the same.

Bedirkhan's approach created two major handicaps; one of them being he defamed Kurdish people, labeling them as more ignorant than other communities in other words it was 'selforientalism' and the idea aimed to deny the history of his community. Certainly Bedirkhan was right on some issues such as the fight for the Kurdish community's education to have the same standards as the Armenian education system. However, Bedirkhan and many Kurdish intellectuals who had been educated in Europe and other parts of the empire did not return to Kurdistan like the Armenian students and intellectuals did, therefore he could not know the power balance in the region between the two people. The following pages will discuss the Kurdish intellectuals who can be divided into two categories; the ones living in Kurdistan, and others who had left Kurdistan. We will see in the *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi***,** the newspaper and its authors did not write about the Hamidiye Regiments that had slaughtered Armenians because they wanted to understand the Kurdish people's feelings about the Armenian question (also known as the agrarian question). Actually, we can see their concerns regarding the question, likewise *Rojî Kurd* and *Hetawî Kurd* did not write about this

[115] Akpınar, Alişan. *Aşiret, Mektep, Devlet: Osmanlı Devleti'nde Aşiret Mektebi*, Aram Yayıncılık 32 (İstanbul: Aram, 2001). p. 91-99

regiment. Abdurrahman Bedirkhan's approach was truly correct. However, he was far from the country, the writers of the *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi* also were trying to understand the politics in the region but they were silent about the regiment, which was a force of the region. Many intellectuals did not accept the cruelty of the regiments but perhaps many of them had thought that they counterbalanced the situation with the Armenian organization, the Ottoman State and Western countries with respect to the their homeland, so they did not write anything about them in the above mentioned publications with the exception of the *Kurdistan*.

Bedirkhan narrated the situation of country in the ninth issue of Kurdistan, and his title of the article was 'Welat/Homeland'. According to him, the country must be strong and the people in their own country must be strong. He says; 'when my father left Kurdistan, the official of the state raided all Kurdish villages and cities and they sucked the blood of the nation like a snake. Your situation is terrible! Pay attention to yourself! If you will not revolt and if you wait like this, the wounds caused by the government will always grow. Kurds are proud; they persevere, why they are bowing to the officials like sheep.' He argued that the situation of the government had deteriorated so much that the state was not informing the people and the people who lived in Istanbul were also suffering because of the government. They sent their complaints to the government but the sultan did not listen to them however they were not afraid; they also wanted their rights. Moreover, Abdurrahman Bedirkhan was referring to the Armenian struggle of the period within the opposition examples against the state and he said Armenian people are tired of state persecution. However, they raised their voices, and they demanded their rights, but the Kurdish people were ignorant and they began to kill Armenians.

Bedirkhan was practically screaming to Kurdish people saying, 'You must not kill Armenians! You are doing it because of your ignorance. Enough! Open your eyes raise your hands pull your sword!'[116] When Bedirkhan wanted to give a message to the Kurdish people, he generally mentioned the Armenian people. His writing about the country in the ninth issue was an example of this. According to Bedirkhan Hemawend, tribes were removed by the Ottoman State, and he was using this as an example for the Armenian and Kurdish people. The empire resettled the Hemawend or Hemvend tribe in the nineteenth century from Kurdistan to Libya and Rumelia.[117] According to Bedirkhan, this was an extermination policy, and perhaps the state would also behave like this where they were concerned, so both the Kurds and Armenians should consider these points.

In the other issue Bedirkhan called out to Kurdish people, 'you are at ease; you are oppressed fifty times more than the oppressed Armenians are. Some people mindlessly pester the Armenian, whereas a cruel government attacks you and all Muslims for twenty five years, it is disguised as friendly but the government is your enemy with its guns, rifles, spies, money and the hangman.' In the following paragraphs Bedirkhan then discusses how the Kurdish people are instruments and how they are victims of the Abdulhamid policy and the interests of European diplomats.[118] He did not believe any country and people in the region, his psychology as one of great loneliness. He accepts Armenian pogroms and the persecutions of the sultan against Kurds and Armenians but he also wanted an alliance with the Armenian people and per contra he claimed that the Armenian people got support from Russia and the west countries regarding the establishment of a new state, Armenia. According to him,

[116] Bozarslan, *Kurdistan*, 1991. p. 227-228

[117] Dündar, Fuat. *İttihat ve Terakki'nin Müslümanları İskân Politikası (1913-1918)*, 1. baskı (İstanbul: İletişim, 2001). p. 54

[118] Bozarslan, *Kurdistan*, 1991. p. 447

consequently the Kurds struggled with one newspaper in the absence of Kurdish representatives. Thus, he argued about the many subject both as a political leader and as an intellectual for and within the Kurdish people.

About Alliance and Contradictions between Two Communities

Before *Kurdistan* newspaper, Abdurrahman had written in a different newspaper about this relationship, for instance according to Garo Sasuni who was one of leaders of *Armenian Revolutionary Movement*, many Kurdish intellectuals in the Diaspora condemned Kurdish people's behavior against Armenian people. According to these intellectuals, Kurdish people had to make a deal with Armenian people, in addition, Kurdish intellectuals wrote articles in the Armenian Revolutionary Movement's publication Troşak in 1898.[119] They called for peace between the two societies and generally stopped focusing on the Kurdish violence against the neighboring peoples.[120] According to Malmisanij the most important of these Kurdish intellectuals were Abdurrahman Bedirkhan and Abdullah Cevdet but it is not clear which writing was by Abdullah Cevdet[121] or which was by Abdurrahman Berdirkhan, because the authors signatures were 'a Kurd' (Bir Kurd). However, Abdurrahman Bedirkhan published a pamphlet in 1318/1900 and he used his signature as Son of Bedirkhan Pasha Abdurrahman. Later, we will analyze the pamphlet, because it was about the Kurdish-Armenian relationship in the period of the1890s.

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[119] Garo Sasuni, *Kürt Ulusal Hareketleri ve 15. Yüzyıldan Günümüze Ermeni Kürt İlişkileri* (İstanbul: Med Yayınları, 1991). p. 192-207

[120] M. Kalman, *Batı-Ermenistan (Kürt ilişkileri) ve Jenosid* (Aksaray, İstanbul: Zêl Yayınları, 1994). p. 69-75

[121] Klein, Janet, «Çatışma ve İşbirliği: Abdulhamid dönemi Kürt-Ermeni İlişkilerini Yeniden Değerlendirmek (1876-1909)», içinde *Osmanlı Dünyasında Kimlik ve Kimlik Oluşumu*, 1. ed (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2012). p. 193

Bedirkhan wrote in the last article that the enemy of the Kurdish and Armenians was the same. He was writing in the 11th issue (February 1899) about the Kurdish and Armenian alliance:

> People, Armenians are very industrious, they are oppressed just like Kurdish people, they are sacrificing their freedom, but Kurdish ignorance does not know this situation and are killing Armenians. The situation is very bad for the Kurdish… Scholars should point out that the situation is thuggery and that Kurds should stay out of these sins. Kurds should make an alliance with Armenians, normally you should go to the aid of the Armenians, but you go and kill them. Armenians are oppressed![122]

Bedirkhan also mentions in another issue (April 1899) the Armenian and Kurdish alliance. 'You tell the sultan to send impartial officers to Kurdistan, but if the situation continues as before, Kurdish people will ally themselves with the Armenians and they want justice together.'[123] In that period, Armenian revolutionary groups wanted to spread socialism and its organization kept on working towards this goal. Therefore, they asked the people to unite with them against the great powers, namely the Ottoman and Russian Empires. In the end, these organizations connected with the Kurdish people. However, A. T. Minassian argues, although the organizations' relationship wanted to continue with socialism, national movement limited them. They were met with incomprehension and animosity from Muslim people, therefore Armenian revolutionaries stayed in dangerous isolation. They wanted to find support from the

[122] 'Fekirin, Ermenî çi qas sahibhîmmet û xîret in. Ew jî wek Kurda mezlûm in; lakîn hurîyeta xwe re xwe fîda dikin. Cahilen Kurda nezanin, Ermenîya dikujin. Ev hal Kurda re gelek xirabe. Dive ulema bejin Kurda ku ev hal qatilî ye. Dive Kurd xwe ji wî gunehî muhafeze bikin. Dive Kurd jî Ermenîya re bîl îttîfaq me'mûren zalim en Xunkar redike sere we, bavejin. Şûna un biçin îmdada Ermenîyen mezlûm, un diçin wan dikujin. Ew hal gelek gunehe û gelek fehete; Xwede û Pexember ji vî halî ne razîne Xwede teala kiteba xwe de ferman kirîye: 'We îzzî we celalîlîx' Yanî 'ez bi îzzet û celala xwe qesem dikim ku, ewe mezlûmekî bibîne û neçe îmdada wî, ez'e heyfa xwe je bistînim' Bozarslan, *Kurdistan*, 1991. p. 248

[123] Ibid. p. 259

Kurds and Young Turks, but these attempts were unsuccessful. There were several reasons for this such as religious and ethnic differences and economic and cultural inequalities. Accordingly, these attempts were abandoned.[124] On the other hand, Russian brigadier general Mayévsriy V. T. wrote book reports in 1904. The book was translated to Turkish two times, once in 1911 and again in 1989 using the Latin alphabet. The Russian brigadier claims great responsibility lay with the Armenian organizations regarding the Armenian-Kurdish questions and Armenians massacre. Mayévsriy focused on the provinces of Bitlis and Van. In his report for he analyses the eastern region of the empire. According to him, the Kurds were not the only ones responsible for the Armenian slaughters in the 1890s, but Armenian organizations were as well. His approach can be read in the book.

At the same time, Abdurrahman Bedirkhan along with some Kurdish intellectuals also was in contact with Armenian intellectuals. His essay in the *Kurdistan* newspaper about the alliance that we mentioned above perhaps began after this contact. I think the meaning of this point of view arose from the nationalist idea. The request of alliance therewithal has demonstrated the same enemy for two people and their intellectuals. Furthermore, Recep Maraşlı discussed this time writing in Hunchakian Party's program and calling to the Assyrian and Kurdish to participate in the struggle against the Turks, and it was mentioned in the 8th article of the program.[125] The parties wanted to make an alliance with both Kurdish people and Kurdish intellectuals against the state and the Kurdish Agha, who were close to the state as the leaders of the tribes.

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[124] Minassian, *Ermeni devrimci Hareketi'nde Milliyetçilik ve Sosyalizm 1887-1912 / A. T. Minassian; cev. M. Tunçay*. İletişim: 2012, p. 36

[125] Maraşlı, Recep. *Ermeni Ulusal Demokratik Hareketi ve 1915 Soykırımı,* Peri Yayınları, 2008, p. 142

Bedirkhan continued to debate the alliance and he targeted some Kurdish tribes and their contradictions:

> Armenians are aware of the conditions and they are working, they know the officers' cruelty. Some of them perished however, they continued to encounter challenges. The Kurds need to make an alliance because both Armenians and Kurds are oppressed by Abdulhamid. However, Kurds are illiterate and because of this they have killed Armenians but they do not know this fact. Namely, the situation of the Kurdish is not legitimate. If Kurds and Armenians made an agreement, officials would no longer persecute the Kurdish people. Unfortunately, Kurdish tribes are their own enemies. Because of this, weak officials caused them trouble.[126]

On the other hand, Bedirkhan continued to criticize the Kurdish people for their shortsightedness. He could not think clearly on the subject and the state's plans regarding the next time. His words were as follows: The government has no sense. What has happened to your hand in this conflict? You were wealthy in the past, but you are not now. Some killers took advantage of pillaging the Armenians and this made them happy. However, you must follow the rules of Sharia, because if one or two are corrupted you must not be willing to destroy one or two million people, you can have personal enmity not general hostility against Armenians. The state forgives Armenians while Kurds were exiled by the state. You should not let the official (Zeki Pasha) provoke you.

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[126] 'Çiku Ermenî waqife vî halî bîne, ew dixebitin, da xwe ji bine zulma me'mûra derexin. Hinde ji wan hatin kuştin, hinde telef bîn, dîsa xîreta xwe dewam dikin. Dive Kurd jî wan re îttîfaq bikin. Çunkî Ermenî jî, Kurd jî mezlûme Ebdulhemîd'in: Lakîn Kurd cahilin, ve heqîqete nizanin; loma Ermenîya dikujin. Lakîn ev hale Kurda dînen, aqlen, adeten ne caîz e Heger Kurd û Ermenî îttîfaq bikin, me'mûr nikarin zulme li Kurdistane îcra bikin. Sed heyf ku qebailen Kurda hemî neyare hevdû ne. Me'mûr jî bi we ze'f û nîfaqa wan, her li sere wan bela ne.' Bozarslan, *Kurdistan*, 1991. p. 267

Bedirkhan criticized the Kurdish people who did not understand the state policy against them; accordingly, the Hamidiye regiments were also one of the policies. Sometimes even Bedirkhan compared the situation of the two communities and he wrote exaggeratedly to Kurdish people: Abdulhamid II granted an amnesty for Armenian treachery and wickedness, and some Kurdish intellectuals were exiled to the deserts of Tripolitania due to the fact that they defended their religion and country and they were punished when they requested justice..[127] Within the comment and comparisons of Bedirkhan, the state oppressed two groups of people but sometimes forgave Armenian people; according to this idea, the state persecuted more the Kurdish people than the Armenian people. Why did Bedirkhan think like that? In my opinion he realized that Kurdish people had not had support as well as allies in the region, while Armenian people were supported by the countries of the west and by Russia, in the final analysis, Bedirkhan had some contradictions regarding the policies, however he had thought about the rights of the Kurdish people.

Opposition to the Sultan

Abdurrahman Bedirkhan was writing on many topics in the newspaper, one of them was to analyze Abdulhamid II's policy against Kurds and Armenians. He did not soften his message like his brother Mikdat did. Abdurrahman more stiffly opposed the sultan than his brother. Perhaps his radical opposition was due to his relationship with the Young Turks group because he was part of the Geneva branch of the Young Turk community.[128]

[127] Ibid. p. 448

[128] Hanioğlu, M. Şükrü. *Bir siyasal düşünür olarak Doktor Abdullah Cevdet ve dönemi*, İşletme ve iktisat serisi, no. 3 (İstanbul: Üçdal Neşriyat, 1981).

According to M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, Abdurrahman Bedirkhan was also part of this group, and he had helped to Abdullah Cevdet with the new publication[129] and the publishing had become a new opposition publication against the sultan's reign after *Meşveret* newspaper.[130] Thus, the opposition of Abdurrahman Bedirkhan did not start with *Kurdistan* newspaper, he had written in Troşak newspaper that was published by Armenians intellectuals and contributed to Osmanlı newspaper. Therefore, Bedirkhan had much experience when the *Kurdistan* newspapers were published. In a few issues, he strongly criticized the sultan about the Kurdish, Armenian, and all policies regarding the east.[131] However, he was writing about Kurdish society whilst wanting to give a message to the state and to the Armenians. In the 14th issue (April 1899) the letter that came from Mardin and was written by a Kurdish Ulema/Scolar to Abdurrahman Beridkhan, they did criticize the sultan's policy against Kurdish people and argued that the sultan wanted to prevent the development of the Kurds on purpose;

> The sultan wants to prevent the development of the Kurds and he provoked the Kurds to kill Armenians. However, we know Armenians are oppressed, we understand his aim, he wants Kurdish people to remain barbarians, and instigate fights with the Armenians. However, in the future the sultan can be sure about that he will not see the end of this conflict.[132]

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[129] Hanioğlu, M. Şükrü, *Preparation for a Revolution: The Young Turks, 1902-1908*, Studies in Middle Eastern History (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2001). p. 59

[130] Hanioğlu, M. Şükrü, *Bir siyasal düşünür olarak Doktor Abdullah Cevdet ve dönemi*, İşletme ve iktisat serisi, no. 3 (İstanbul: Üçdal Neşriyat, 1981). p. 34-41

[131] Klein, Janet, «Çatışma ve İşbirliği: Abdulhamid dönemi Kürt-Ermeni İlişkilerini Yeniden Değerlendirmek (1876-1909)». p. 193-194

[132] Bozarslan, *Kurdistan*, 1991. p. 281

Bedirkhan had several criticisms regarding Abdulhamid II. One of them was that the sultan stunted the development of Kurdish people; the other one was regarding the Kurds provocation of the Armenians. A third criticism was in favor of the Russians leaving Kurdistan! Nevertheless, when Bedirkhan wrote about Abdulhamid, he was referring to the case of a 'schizophrenic' Abdulhamid, because there are many contradictions in his writing about the sultan; when the Armenians revolted the sultan suffered from an affront that even a slave could not bear. However, the sultan sent fine meals to the rebels. On one hand his army was starving, on the other hand he sent food to the rebels and yet, any captured rebels were strangled by the sultan in prison.[133] When Abdulhamid saw people say 'we want justice,' he would say 'wow Young Turk' and he would exile them to Fezzan (Fizan) an African desert. Many times, he threw them into the Mediterranean Sea.[134] Merely through this paragraph we understand that Abdurrahman Bedirkhan did not believe in the sultan or his policies. Thus, Bedirkhan's opposition against the sultan is radical and pragmatic. Because he sometimes praises the sultan but other times he criticizes him strongly. He was acting like a public official, in other words, the holy of reign continued and in the mind of Abdurrahman, there was no nation state. He wanted to continue the Ottomanist idea but according to his approach, the Istibdat regime should end. Hence, Bedirkhan's attitude was against the sultan because these questions were sophisticated.

Bedirkhan analyzed the east of the empire and he focused on Russia's and the Ottoman Empire's relationship with the Kurds and the Armenians. In other words, Russia's influence in the region was disturbing to Bedirkhan because the effect of Russia and western countries in the region were subservient to the Armenians. Kurds and Armenians lived together in

[133] Probably, he mentions Occupation of the Ottoman Bank/Banka Vakası in 1896 by the Armenian revolutionaries. Armen Garo, *Osmanlı Bankası: Armen Garo'nun Anıları* (İstanbul : Belge Yayınları, 2009).

[134] Bozarslan, *Kurdistan*, 1991.p. 417

almost all cities in Northern Kurdistan and the region was full of neighbors from Russia. The region was the epicenter of the conflict between two empires (Ottoman and Russian) and it was also the most important center of the fourth army and other bureaucracy in the north east of the Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, there also were British consulates in the region. Other sides, officially according to the approach of the Turkish state, they did not see Armenians as subjects. Bayram Kodaman accepts this idea and according to his analysis, The Armenian issue is a means to an end. In other words with this approach he defends the state against the enemy!

Armenian people living in the six provinces as a minority did not create the Armenian question. They are a part of the question that was created by the *Düvel-i Muazzama* in the Anatolia. In this sense Armenians play no part the Eastern Question, they took part in the events as 'bit players,' 'meaning,' 'object people' who were used against each other as well as against the Ottomans by England and Russia.'

> Initially, English politicians seemed to support these revolutionary movements. They also supported and helped the Armenians regarding the fast implementation of reforms in Kurdistan. They did not think of the Armenian's happiness but of their own interests. It was well known that England had already believed their future was in big danger and would be destroyed by a Southern invasion of Russia. For this reason, England was ready to see developments and improvements that they did not see throughout the Ottoman country at the Caucasus border at least. Moreover they were ready to devote anything with the intention of making the abstract reforms real and concrete which will be bestly serving for establishing well and desirable management. When the order is determined in Kurdistan, naturally neighbouring Russian intervention will not be needed and as a result England like us, will have escaped the

danger. (…) However, Russia's notices about not implementing the reforms have been so coherent and with the wicked character of the Sultan's palace who had been regaling and busy with his dictatorship. The hope of the establishment of Armenia comforted the Armenians and work flourished. Now, our Armenian citizens who lackl sincerity have even taken the risk of changing their sectarian beliefs for the purpose of belonging to the Orthodox Church. [135]

Therefore, Abdurrahman Bedirkhan was worried because of this complicated situation and he criticized to Abdulhamid II who was not interested in the Kurdish people and Kurdistan; now, the emerging of the group of gangs should not provoke you, they are not all Armenians. If you are provoked, Russia will interfere in the region, and all of Europe will have endless hatred against you. The Russians will get the region and Abdulhamid will not make anything.[136]

[135] Kodaman, Bayram, «II. Abdülhamit ve Kürtler-Ermeniler», *SDÜ Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, sayı 21 (Mayıs 2010): 131–38. p. 132; on the other hand Abdurrahman Bedirkhan also criticized the intervention of the foreign states about the Armenian or Eastern Question: 'Bidayeten bu harekât-ı ihtilâliyeye zahîr gibi görünen İngiliz rical-i siyasiyesi, Kürdistan'da ıslahâtın sür'at-i tatbikini istilzam fikriyle Ermenilere oldukça imdad ve muavenette bulunmuş idi. Bu babda İngiltere, Ermenilerin saadetini düşünmekten ziyade, kendi menafi-i müstakbelesini düşünmek mecburiyetinde idi. Herkesçe malum olduğu üzre, Rusya'nın cenuba doğru istilâsıyle kendi âtîsinin de vahîm ve fenapezîr olacağını vaktiyle teyakkun etmiş ve mülk-i Osmanînin hey'et-i umumiyesinde göremediği teâlî ve tekemmülü hiç olmazsa Kafkasya hududunda görmek ve muntazam-ü müstahsen bir idare teşkiline hâdim mevadd-ı ıslahiyeyi kuvveden fiile çıkarmak için her şeyi fedaya hazırlanmış idi. Kürdistan'da intizam olunca, bittabi' mücavir olan Rusya'nın müdahalesine meydan kalmayacak ve şu yüzden bizimle birlikte İngiltere de tehlikeden kurtulmuş olacaktı (…) Fakat Rusya'nın ıslahatın adem-i tatbiki hususundaki mevaîdi, sefahet ve istibdaddan baş kaldırmayan Saray-ı hümayunun tab'ı zelîline fevkalhad muvafık gelmiş ve bu suretle Balkan hükümetlerine müşabih bir Ermenistan teşkili ümidi de Ermenileri pek güzelce avutmuş olduğundan, işler arzu edildiği gibi gitmiş ve şimdi Avrupa'nın teveccüh ve rikkatinden mahrum Ermeni vatandaşlarımız, Ortodoks Kilisesine tabi olmak üzre tebdil-i mezhebi bile göze aldırmışlardır...' Bozarslan, *Kurdistan*, 1991. *Current and Future Situation of Kurdistan* in 29th issue of Kurdistan*; p. 520-522*

[136] Ibid.. p. 447

About the Country: Kurdistan and/or West Armenia

The country was a major problem between the two populations. Abdurrahman Bedirkhan accepted that Armenian people lived in Kurdistan, but he did not accept Armenia, and as Bedirkhan said, Russia and other western countries helped the Armenians, and they wanted to create a new country called Armenia instead of Kurdistan. Therefore, he was calling on the Kurdish people to prevent the killing of Armenians, but he did not want an Armenian country on Kurdish land! Before Bedirkhan, Sheik Ubeydullah also had revived the fair of Armenian sovereignty.[137] Bedirkhan wrote in the 25th issue (October 1900) with the title of 'to Kurds.'

> I hear from Europe, the biggest question is regarding the fight for Armenia. What is the cause of this conflict? Armenians want to separate from the empire, and they want to establish their country in Kurdistan. They are working on this plan in Europe, and they control the groups of gangs in Kurdistan. We are aware of all these issues (…) but not all these events are an excuse for conflict, the beliefs of the government policy are not true. On the other hand, you do not believe in establishing a government in the name of Armenia, the central government makes an alliance with Russia about this situation, therefore something like this will not be.[138]

The question of establishing a country was discussed by Kurdish and Armenian intellectuals, not only among Istanbul intellectuals but also between the member of the organizations and leaders of the communities in the countryside. For instance, Garo Sasuni who was writing

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[137] Wadie, Jwaideh, *Kürt Milliyetçiliğinin Tarihi: Kökenleri ve Gelişimi = The Kurdish Nationalist Movement: Its Origins and Development*, 5. baskı, Araştırma Inceleme Dizisi 89 (İstanbul: İletişim, 1999). p. 166

[138] 'Avrupa'da beni, biliftihar mensub olduğum milliyetim hasebiyle, vukufsuz Avrupalıların serzenişleriyle rencûr eden bir şey vardır ki o da Ermeni kıtallarıdır. Bu kıtalların ve sizce halk nazarında müstelzim-i töhmet olan talan ve garetlerin sebebleri nedir? Emin olunuz ki bu esbab bence kamilen malumdur. Ermenilerin, heyet-i külliye-i Osmaniyeden ayrılarak, vatan-ı pâki olan Kürdistan'ı kendilerine bir cevelângâh, her çi bad abad, etmek istedikleri ve bu yolda nasıl çalıştıkları, Avrupa'da neler yaptıkları, Kürdistan'da nasıl haydud çeteleri gezdirdikleri, sadedilân-ı dehkana ne yolda ilka-i fikr-i mefsedet ettikleri, yegân yegân malumumdur.' Bozarslan, *Kurdistan*, 1991.p. 440

about the border of Kurdistan and Armenia mentioned a meeting in Şemdinan between Sheik Mehmed Sıddık who is the small son of Sheikh Ubeydullah, and the member of Taşnaksutyun organization Malhas.

When they negotiated the borders of the 'countries.' Mehmed Sıddık said, 'From Başkale (district of Van and south of the Lake Van) and Norduz to Musul, that is our land, above of it is yours. This is based on what we need to reflect on.'[139] The result of this demarcation of the region there was that there was no legal treaty between the two groups. In this negotiation, the groups almost accepted a new agreement regarding the division of the region. Because according to Article of 61 of the Treaty of Berlin, the Ottoman Empire should make reforms for the Armenian people in the vilayet-i sitte or six provinces. However, according to the agreement between Sheikh Sıddık and Malhas, the provinces were divided into two parts as parallel between two people. For instance, he did not clearly mention this but according to these divisions; the four provinces (Van, Bitlis, Mamuretülaziz, and Diyarbakır) were separated. The other two provinces Sivas and Erzurum would stay in Armenia. It was seen as a logical and practical solution for sharing the region. Unfortunately, the search for a solution did not come to a conclusion.

Bedirkhan's Approach on Hamidiye Light Cavalry Regiments

The Hamidiye cavalry regiment was explained in the previous pages (the organization, which was established by Abdulhamid and his commander Şakir, Zeki Pasha which had massacred many Armenians) were included in the pogrom and usurpation of properties around

[139] Garo Sasuni, *Kürt Ulusal Hareketleri ve 15. Yüzyıldan Günümüze Ermeni Kürt İlişkileri*. İstanbul. Med Yayınları.1992. p. 206

Kurdistan.[140] Janet Klein points out that the regiments had two different aims, the official aim differed from the real one![141] The members of the regiments were from the tribes, not from the Sheikh and Emirates families of Kurdish people, therefore the nomadic tribes; especially Hamidiye regiments became a new authority in Kurdistan after the destruction of the Kurdish Emirates. The Kurdish intellectuals, Abdurrahman Bedirkhan in particular, mainly criticized the problems surrounding this new authority; this authority in the region was a big problem for both Armenian and Kurdish people and this became a local power over the non-Muslim people and Kurdish peasants.

> The idea of establishing Hamidiye cavalries is based on opposing the overwhelming oppression and dictatorship in all of the motherland where Kurdish citizens also lived was presented and suggested by the Fourth Army Müşiri Zeki Pasha to the Chamberlain of the Sultan. It was presented and suggested after the first rebellion of the Armenian nation arose. Naturally, this kind of idea established hostility lasting forever between different cultures yet it was praised by the Sultan and accepted without thinking of its benefits and harm and sudden decisions were taken in order to launch it. Supreme Military Command Authority had not really been aware of the inner workings of the matter and was thrown into confusion.[142]

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[140] Klein, Janet, *Hamidiye Alayları - İmparatorluğun Sınır Boyları ve Kürt Aşiretleri*, and Cevdet Ergül, *İkinci Abdülhamid'in Doğu politikası ve Hamidiye alayları* (Çağlayan Yayınları, 1997), and Kodaman, *Sultan II. Abdülhamid Devri Doğu Anadolu Politikası*.

[141] 'Officially, the Hamidiye was formed to 'protect the country against foreign assaults and aggression' and to find a way to enforce conscription in a region that contributed relatively few recruits to the Ottoman army, and accordingly, was attached to the 'just aim of increasing and multiplying the general strength of the Ottoman forces.' Later scholars writing on the Hamidiye (albeit few in number) have, however, found different motives for the creation of this institution. Most writers concur that the regiments were formed for various reasons, including bolstering the Ottomans' military might along the borders, serving as a counter to Armenian revolutionary activities, and finding means to control Kurds and attract their loyalty.' Janet Klein, 'Power in the Periphery: Hamidiye Light Cavalry and the Struggle over Ottoman Kurdistan, 1890-1914.' p. 25,26

[142] Bedirkhan explains the reason of the Hamidiye regiments in his article 'Hamidiye Cavalries Regiments' that was in 28th issue of *Kurdistan*; 'Hamidiye Alaylarının teşkili fikri, vatanımızın her noktasında feveran eden zulüm ve istibdada karşı koymak mecburiyetini hissederek, bu babda, vatandaşları olan Kürdleri de müstakbelen kendi fikr-i ihtilâlcûlarına teşrik edeceklerinde şübhe edilmeyen Ermeni kavminin ilk kıyamlarını

On the other hand, the brother of Abdurrahman, Abdurrezzak and Halil Berdirkhan who came back from Russia to Cizre, supported the protest of Kurdish people in Cizre against the Hamidiye regiments in 1894, which was one of the first uprisings against the regiments.[143] Accordingly, when Bedirkhan criticized the new authority he had focused on three subjects; the first was their persecution of the Armenian people, the second was the opposition to the sultan and the third was to send a message to the Kurdish people. In sending a message he wrote about the Kurds and stated that they did not have broad vision or foresight;

> Kurds! You merely know your land but you do not remember your history. You cannot see the 'great' value of other nations. Your greatness, glory and honor is limited merely member of the Hamidiye cavalries of Zeki Pasha. This case will alienate your greatness. The government incites you to be against Armenians, but afterwards the state can apply a judicial procedure against you and your family.[144]

Bedirkhan criticizes Mustafa Pasha who was the leader of the Miran Hamidiye tribe, due to his opposition to Abdulhamid II, then he argues, there is the persecution of Hamidiye cavalries only in Kurdistan, and he asks this question: Is there a different group under control

müteakib, Dördüncü Ordu Müşîri Zeki Paşa tarafından Mabeyn-i hümayuna arzedilmiş ve bittabi' anasır-ı muhtelife arasında ebedî bir nifak bulundurmak isti¬dadını muhtevî böyle bir fikir nezd-i Şahanede memduh görülerek ve menafi-ü mahazîri kat'iyyen düşünülmeksizin, hemen bilkabul, mer'iyeti için iradeler ısdar olunarak, esas-ı meseleden lâyıkıyle haberdar olmayan Makam-ı Seraskerî hayrete düşürülmüştür.' Bozarslan, *Kurdistan*, 1991. p. 501-502

[143] Klein, Janet, «Power in the Periphery: Hamidiye Light Cavalry and the Struggle Over Ottoman Kurdistan, 1890-1914». p. 179

[144] 'Kürdler! Elhâletü hazihi, sizin derece-i ıttılaınız, muhat bulunduğunuz cibal ile mahduddur. Evvelki büyüklüğünüzü tahattur edemezsiniz. Bugün ise, milel-i sairenin bi hakkın büyük ıtlak ettiği şeyleri göremiyorsunuz. Büyüklük, şan ve şeref, Zeki Paşa maiyetinde Hamidiye efradından olmakla mahdud değildir. Belki bu hal, sizi, her büyüklüğe ve büyüklüğün mükta- zayâtından olan bir kadiriyet-i muhikkaya bîgâne kılar. Siz şeref ve saadetinizi bizzat istihsal etmelisiniz. Sizi kıtala sevk eden memurîn-i hükümet, bir gün o kıtal yüzünden size bir mes'ûliyet-i kanuniye teveccüh ederse, o anda her birinizi Kürdistan'ın bir dağında salbetmekten ve efrad-ı ailenizi aç bırakmaktan çekinmez.' Bozarslan, *Kurdistan*, 1991. p. 448

of the sultan other than the Hamidiye cavalries? For example, he says there is a Miran tribe in Diyarbakir; and its leader is Mustafa pasha who was a shepherd ten years ago. People called him as, 'Misto Keçelo (Bald Misto), but he is the leader of the Hamidiye cavalry now; how did this happen? He is only adept at being ignominious. Now he has become a pasha! What would happen if a person did not like him? His son is an enemy to him; he is a traitor who attacked his bride, also has killed Armenians, and looted from Muslims. Therefore, Bedirkhan's critique regarding the Hamidiye regiments and its pashas in Kurdistan is too harsh. He attacked Mustafa Pasha who was gaining control of a large region in the east, Diyarbakir and Cizre, which were the important parts of this region and the leader of the Miran Hamidiye cavalries (there were two regiment from the Miran tribe)[145] Mustafa Pasha controlled these regions. Before this, Bedirkhan Bey who was Bohtan Emirate Abdurrahman Bedirkhan's father was controlling the region. When all Kurdish Emirates were destroyed by the Ottoman State, there was no authority in Kurdistan. According to Janet Klein, the nomadic tribes after becoming part of the Hamidiye cavalries became a new authority in the region, accordingly, the tribes, namely the Hamidiye cavalry was the new authority system and the reinvention of the Emirates.[146]

Contradictions among Mustafa Pasha and the Bedirkhan family continued for a long time, because the control of the region was important for both sides and the reason for the conflict was the situation of the country. Mustafa Pasha was known for his evils and truculence by the people,[147] state and Kurdish intellectuals,[148] and Abdurrahman Bedirkhan's harsh criticism of

[145] Klein, Janet, *Hamidiye Alayları - İmparatorluğun Sınır Boyları ve Kürt Aşiretleri*. p. 122-127

[146] Ibid. 158-165

[147] Yiner, Abdulnasır, 'Miranlı Mustafa Paşa Örneğinde Hamidiye Alayları Askerî Gücünün Kötüye Kullanımı,' *History Studies, Prof. Dr. Enver Konukçu Armağanı*, 2012, 449–64. p. 452-53

the Hamidiye cavalries and especially of Mustafa Pasha began as such; Bedirkhan analyzed the situation of the region in the *Kurdistan* newspaper issues and he claimed the killing of Armenian people rose during the period of the Hamidiye regiments. Thus, he focused on the Miran tribe and its leader Mustafa Pasha and analyzed this tribe in the *Kurdistan* newspaper in the 26th, 27th and 28th issues.[149] After these conflicts and contradictions, Mustafa Pasha was ambushed and killed by Agayê Sor who was another tribe leader in the same region and his tribes then became allies of the Bedirkhan family.[150] Therefore, the struggle for authority continued in the region and Abdurrahman Bedirkhan was mulling over the question of the slaughter of Armenian people because western countries were also analyzing the killing of Armenians. In other words, contradictions were being discussed between the Bedirkhan family and the Miran tribes regarding the killing of Armenians and accordingly, Abdurrahman Bedirkhan knew that western countries would react to this question. Bedirkhan was simultaneously pursuing several pragmatic policies; one of them was to send the message to Kurdish people, our family defended your rights against the state and Armenian organizations and western countries, because the message showed that Kurds existed. The second being the continued opposition to Abdulhamid via the Hamidiye regiments, and finally the message also told the other tribes in the region that they were also still here!

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[148] Süphandağ, Kemal, *Hamidiye Alayları Ağrı Kürt Direnişi Ve Zilan Katliamı*, 1. ed (İstanbul: Pêrî Yayınları, 2012). p. 121-124

[149] Bozarslan, *Kurdistan*, 1991. p. 454-509

[150] Klein, Janet, *Hamidiye Alayları - İmparatorluğun Sınır Boyları ve Kürt Aşiretleri*. p. 171-172

CHAPTER V: Kurdistan Kıyamı/ The Pamphlet of the Kurdistan Rebellion

Abdurrahman Bedirkhan did not only write in the *Kurdistan* newspaper about the Hamidiye regiments and the Armenian question, he also wrote a pamphlet in 1318/1900 with the title of *Kurdistan Kıyamı* (Kurdistan Rebellion), the name of Bedirkhan Pasha oğlu Abdurrahman as Turkish. Malmisanij translated this pamphlet from the Arabic alphabet into the Latin alphabet and published his book;[151] afterwards the pamphlet was translated into modern Turkish and was published in *Toplum ve Kuram* Journal.[152]

Bedirkhan focused on three subjects in the pamphlet; the Hamidiye regiments, the Armenian Question and state policy and its official position in Kurdistan. However, when Bedirkhan attempted to define the period, he did not have a clear idea about the term. For instance, according to Bedirkhan, all actors in the Kurdistan situation were crying out over the situation of the region. And he claims there was great uncertainty; it had been ten years since the great massacres had occurred in Kurdistan. The Armenians cried out regarding the Ottoman government's passivity and ignorance, and curiously enough, foreign states were also crying out. Some cry, others call, some escape, some pursue. In shortly: if you asked who the victim is, the bearer shows himself.[153]

Therefore, everyone is responsible for the incidents according to Bedirkhan. He argued about the condition of the sultan in that period and he asked what had happened to him; did he not

[151] Malmîsanij, *İlk Kürt Gazetesi Kurdıstan'ı Yayımlayan Abdurrahman Bedirhan, 1868-1936*. p. 163-179

[152] Bozkurt, Serhat, Mesud Serfiraz, «Kürdistan Ayaklanması», *Toplum ve Kuram Journal*, sayı 4 (2010): 237–46. http://zanenstitu.org/belge-kurdistan-ayaklanmasi-serhat-bozkurt-mesud-serfiraz/

[153] Ibid. p. 238

understand the situation? The sultan was not informed and had not heard about the incidents![154] Bedirkhan continues to debate; this is the policy of the sultan, because his officials got Armenian people killed by the hands of Kurdish people. According to Bedirkhan, the sultan does not understand the policy of the region and at the same time, the east of the empire was separating in a horrifying way such as Rumelia, in other words, one significant part of the country was being lost. He compared two regions of the empire, and he referred to the Berlin Treaty, because in the treaty, the Ottoman State lost many big territories in Rumelia. Bedirkhan wanted to point out the situation to the sultan as an example and in doing this according to him; the sultan could not keep away from the east of the empire. Bedirkhan's concern was also the establishment of the new state of Armenia to the east of the empire. Therefore, he called on the sultan as the most important political player of that period to defend the east of the empire or Kurdistan. His calling out to Kurds was also different because the power of the Kurdish people laid in the Hamidiye regiments; therefore he wanted an intervention from the sultan, not from the Hamidiye regiment.

Bedirkhan continued to discuss the question; he said it would not be a strange situation even if Kurdistan were a madhouse of the world.[155] Namely, the conflicts in Kurdistan, the power relationship between different groups, the fight between Kurds and Armenians could not be understood by anybody and he was following his words; the Hamidiye regiments are dangerous for the world, they are the most protected, most brutal and the biggest bandits that

[154] Ibid. 240

[155]"Kürdistan, tekmil kâinatın tımarhanesi olsa yine de bu kadar acayip durumlar yaşanmazdı. Hem zalim mağdur oluyordu hem mazlum. Zeki Paşa, hem bir kısım Kürtleri hem Ermenileri eziyordu; hangi tarafın hücum ettiği hangi tarafın mağlup olduğu anlaşılamıyordu. Zeki Paşa, öncelikle merhum Müşir Şâkir Paşa'nın pek hayırlı bir maksatla oluşturulmasını tavsiye ettiği Kürt Hamidiye [Alayları] mensuplarını ele aldı. Bu alaya mensup olan herkesi Paşa'nın altı yüz sene evvel sahip olduğu imtiyazlarla donattı, ayrıcalıklı kıldı. Mesela bunların hiçbiri hiçbir mahkemede yargılanamazdı. Askeri mahkemeler askerliklerini tanınmazlıktan gelir; mülkiye mahkemeleri bunlar askerdir diye yargılayamazdı. Zeki Paşa, Padişah'tan aldığı izinle bu alayları böyle sorumluluk dışı ve serbest kıldıktan sonra her birini bir tarafa saldırttı." Ibid. p. 240

is a clear within the ugly Hamidiye name. They destroyed a lot of Armenian, Kurdish and Turkish villages through their juggernaut of pillage.[156] Then he said that the regiments were in the region against the peasants because of the many problems and all people of the regiments were unpunished by the state.

Bedirkhan has some examples about many of the members of the Hamidiye regiments who made arbitrary and oppressive practices against ordinary people. Accordingly, the regiments had created a regime of impunity and their effects had become terrible, because when the regiments began to pillage, sometimes ordinary people also interfered in these problems in favor of the regimens. On the other hand, the acquisition of property through plunder was tempting to ordinary people and because of this; they meddled in these pillages together with the Hamidiye regiments. Abdurrahman Bedirkhan also objected to the situation and he warned Kurds against the deception of the politics of the state, moreover he gave an iconic example; the Kurds were deceived by the state with one chicken or sheep (the Kurdish movement mentions that the same policy was being used by the state nowadays with different means such as giving out coal and pasta).[157]

In this pamphlet, Abdurrahman Bedirkhan focused on three issues which were the Armenian question, Abdulhamid II and the bureaucracy of the state's position regarding the policy of the east, and the last point, the character of the Hamidiye regiments were *privileged* as well as the being the most dangerous group. The pamphlet which was written by Abdurrahman Bedirkhan was the most important and clear text about the Armenian-Kurdish relationship in

[156] Ibid. p. 241

[157]http://www.ozgurgundem.com/?haberID=101385&haberBaslik=AKP%20makarna%20ve%20k%C3%B6m%C3%BCr%C3%BCn%20yan%C4%B1na%20e%C5%9Farp%20ekledi!&action=haber_detay&module=nuce

the late Ottoman period among other Kurdish intellectuals. Aimed at understanding that period, this short article was a pragmatic, diplomatic, as well as an emotional text. Consequently, when a historian wants to analyze the relationships between on Kurdish, Armenian, and Ottoman State during that period, he/she absolutely must see this document.[158]

If we try to analyze Bedirkhan's approach, as far as we can see he is focused on the following four questions; the civilizing of Kurdish people and Kurdistan, peace and alliance with Armenian people, the establishment of an Armenia and opposition to the Ottoman Empire or Abdulhamid II. Perhaps these points may seem like a contradiction; however according to that period it was a realist policy. These four approaches continued in the following issues. These four approaches determined the Armenian-Kurdish relations and many Kurdish intellectuals shared these approaches when they thought about the question, they were not just Abdurrahman Bedikhan's commentary.

[158] Malmîsanij, *İlk Kürt Gazetesi Kurdıstan'ı Y ayımlayan Abdurrahman Bedirhan, 1868-1936*. p. 163 and Bozkurt, Serhat, Mesud Serfiraz, «Kürdistan Ayaklanması».

CHAPTER VI: *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi* / The Kurdish Solidarity and Progress Newspaper and Debates on Armenians

The Kurdish Solidarity and Progress Newspaper's first issue was published on December 5th 1908 (Hicrî 11 Zilkade 1326, Rumî 22 Kasım 1324) in Istanbul. The newspaper was the publication of a Society and the Society was established with the same name before the newspaper; The Kurdish Solidarity and Progress Newspaper. Therefore, we need to analyze the Society and briefly define the Society. If we can understand the Society and the Kurdish intellectual group in Istanbul then we can analyze the newspaper and its writers and character. Therefore, according to Malmîsanij the society was the first serious group of Kurdish the intellectual community, the first patriotic Kurdish organization and the first Kurdish organization.[159] In 1900 before this society was established, a different society who's name was *Kurdistan Azm-î Kavî Cemiyeti* (Kurdistan Power Volition Society) had been established but this society was not effective and we do not have much information about it. Whereas, According to Gülseren Duman, KTTG can tell us about the Kurdish intellectuals in the late Ottoman Empire:

> The appropriate way of comprehending the expectations from the 1908 revolution is to look at the ideas and deeds of the Kurdish intelligentsia in Istanbul which were incorporated in the first legal organizations within the boundaries of the empire. Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Cemiyeti (Kurdish Solidarity and Progress Community) is the best example to display the affiliations of the Kurds with the new regime and their vision related to the position of Kurds in the Ottoman Empire. The members of the class of Kurdish intelligentsia, the backgrounds of some of which were introduced in the previous chapter, were stronger proponents of the constitutional regime as they were

[159] Malmîsanij. 1999. *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Cemiyeti ve Gazetesi*. İstanbul: Avesta Yayınevi. p. 9-23

opponents of the tyranny. An analysis of both the regulations of the organization and its newspaper will portray this situation more clearly. Besides, this will help us to better understand the disappointments of the Kurdish intelligentsia and the shifts in their identifications of themselves as "Ottoman".[160]

Thus, when the Kurdish and other resources focused on the Kurdish press and it's society's history, they began by handling The Kurdish Solidarity and Progress Newspaper. After the declaration of the Second Constitution in July, 1908, Kurdish intellectuals returned to Istanbul where they were exiled. The Kurdish intellectuals who supported the establishment of the society in the Second Constitutional Era founded it on the 19th of September 1908, Albanian and Kurdish societies were being built for the first time after the Second Constitutional. *The Kurdish Solidarity and Progress Newspaper* had many members, for instance; when the society opened a club in Vezneciler, 500 people participated in the opening. For Malmîsanij the association had many branches in Bitlis, Muş, Diyarbakir, Mosul and Hınıs, which are all districts of Erzurum, Erzurum and Baghdad.[161] However not all members defended the Second Constitution, intellectuals in Istanbul defended it but local leaders of the Kurdish tribes did not. According to the local leaders, the new political system wanted centralization and revived the 'agrarian question' with the Armenian reforms, thus, for them; their privileges would be eliminated thanks to the Second Constitution. Therefore, the society was not a homogeneous group; it had members of different groups from different parts of Kurdistan and from the capital of the empire.[162] Namely, it was an alliance among Kurdish intellectuals,

[160] Duman, Gülseren. 2010. 'The Formations of the Kurdish Movement(s) 1908-1914: Exploring the Footprints of Kurdish Nationalism,' Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History. Unpublished Thesis. p. 46

[161] Ibid p. 46-51

[162] The period was not merely a transition era for all the empire intellectuals and political groups, for the Kurdish intellectual group it was also an interesting period. They did not have a homogeneous society. There were also members of Kurdish notables' families as well as individuals and members of ordinary families. Besides, the

which was founded on delicate relationship balances and because of this, they did not discuss everything. For instance, in the *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi* there were no critical writings about the Hamidiye Regiments, Seyyid Abdulkadir, who was the president of The Kurdish Solidarity and Progress Society, in the first issue of the *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi*, actually promoted the regiments and the writings were usually about the Kurds and non-Muslim (Armenians) people. According to him, there should be a reform regarding the regiment but the removal of it would be a big mistake politically. He defends it and defines the regiment as being a political actor for Kurdish people in this significant era. Through this point of view he is in direct opposition to the ideas of Abdurrahman Bedirkhan. Another important point to be made is that Seyyid Abdulkadir first used the name of Aşayir Alayları instead of Hamidiye Alayları.[163]

After the foundation of the society they wanted a publishing (a journal or newspaper) for the association with the same name. The society and newspaper were closed after the '31 Mart Vakası.'[164] Founders of the society were generally from famous Kurdish families or Kurdish notables.[165] Djene Bajalan writes about their effect in the empire:

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intellectual group's members were living in Istanbul, the capitol of the empire and they were not living in Kurdistan. According to them, this point is a big problem.

[163] 'Hamidiye Alaylarının vicub-ı ehemm-i ıslâhâtına karşı, bunların lağvı gibi bu sırada te'sîr-i hazır-ı siyasîsi kat'iyyen inkâr olunamayan bir hata-yı diğer dahi mevzu-ı ma'rez-i tezekkür olmuştur (…) Aşayir Alaylarının care-i ıslahat-ı metlûbeleri emrinde de ashab-ı vukufun ma'lûmât ve mütalaât-ı mahsusalarına müracaat olunarak, bu babda hâsıl olacak ıttılââta gore icab-ı halin gayet müteenniyane bir surette icrası en ziyade bir lâzime-i mühimme-i siyaset olacağı mütalaasında bulunduğunun, mücerred bir sevk-i sahîh-i maslahat ve hamiyetle arzına cür'et ederim. Ol babda.' M. Emîn Bozarslan, *Kürd teavün ve terakkî gazetesi : Kovara Kurdî-Tirkî, Kürdçe-Türkçe dergi : 1908-1909* (Uppsala: Deng, 1998). p. 51-52

[164] Ibid, p. 52,
Celil, Celile. 2000. *Kürt Aydınlanması*. İstanbul: Avesta Yayınları, P. 68

[165] Emir Emin Ali Bedirhan (member of Bedirhan family), Ferik Şerif Paşa (member of Baban family from Suleymaniye), Seyid Abdulkadir Efendi (son of Şeyh Ubeydullah who revolted against the empire in the 1880s), Damat (Müşir) Ahmet Zülkif Paşa, Halil Hayali, (from Bitlis, civil servant, became a Kurdish nationalist), Şükrü Mehmet Sekban (from Diyarbakır, after years, in 1930s he changed his idea and he defended Turkish nationalism!) , Naim Baban (from Baban family, Baban family revolted against Ottoman Empire in 1806, in Süleymaniye), Mirikatibizade Ahmet Cemil (Asena), (he participated the community and he struggled for

Certainly, it was dominated by the very highest echelons of the new Ottoman-Kurdish elite. The Babanzâdes were the descendants of the Beys of Süleymaniye while Şeyh Abdül-Kadir Efendi was the scion of the immensely respected Nehri sheikly dynasty. At the same time, they also formed an intellectual elite and cultural elite. Intellectuals such as Babanzâde İsmail Hakkı, Babanzâde Ahmed Naim, Emin Ali Bedirhan, and Şükrü Sekban had received modern education in the empire's elite institutions, spoke European languages, and practiced modern professions.[166]

Aims of the Society and the Newspaper

The society's aims were as follows: Firstly it wanted to narrate the benefits of the constitution to the Kurdish people and it wanted to consolidate the relationship between Kurdish people and the caliphate and its reign. Secondly it wanted a continuation of Meşrutiyet and Meşveret's (counsel) regime. Thirdly it sought education and progress for Kurdish society. Fourthly it wanted to get along with Armenian, Nestorian and other people. Fifthly it wanted no superiority over any other people. Its sixth aim was for local authorities to be increased, it's seventh was the protection and rise of the Ottoman Empire and finally for other issues to accept *The Committee of Union and Progress'* program.[167] The society had many aims; however the various Kurdish intellectuals' political activities were diverse. After the foundation of the society, they wanted to combine political and educational studies for Kurdish people. The association at the same time collected Kurdish notables' family

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Kurdish rights. But his idea changed after the Republic and he began defending Turkish nationalism, he is relative with Ziya Gökalp and after Republic gives Asena surname! Malmîsanij. 1999. *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Cemiyeti ve Gazetesi.* İstanbul: Avesta Yayınevi. P.23-30

[166] Bajalan, Djene Rhys. 2009. *Kurds for the Empire: 'The Young Kurds'* (1898-1914). Bilgi University Social Science Institute Department of History. MA Thesis, published as 'Jön Kürtler' p. 86-87

[167] Malmîsanij. 1999. *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Cemiyeti ve Gazetesi*. İstanbul: Avesta Yayınevi. p. 19-23

members, which most likely was the key of the society's success. The Bedirhanzade, Şemdinanzade or Sheikh Ubeydullah Nehri family and Babanzade families united for the first time in this organization.[168] This environment created a nationalist sentiment among the Kurdish intellectuals. Consequently we can say, the most important aim of the establishment of the society was their uniting and the emergence of nationalist ideas. For this reason the intellectual group founded a newspaper and began to write many essays, which were about progress, education, religion, science, politics, literature and various social subjects for Kurdish people. In December 1908 the first issue was published and there followed nine more issues up until March 1909. The aims of the newspaper and the society were same, their writers and the society's founders were largely the same people. According to Celile Celil, the members of the society created a new program and they were influenced by the Young Turk's revolution. Afterward they wanted to open schools where Kurds were included in administrative and judicial institutions and where Kurdish could become the official language, where politics, journals and newspapers were published in their mother tongue and where Kurdish representatives participated in parliament and built an economically successful Kurdistan.[169] Unfortunately, the society and newspaper were closed after the 31 March Incident by the government of CUP.[170]

Information on the Newspaper

The first issue of the newspaper was published on December 5th, 1908 (Hicrî 11 Zilkade 1326, Rumî 22 Kasım 1324). On the front page was written *The Kurdish Solidarity and Progress*

[168] Celil, Celile. 2000. *Kürt Aydınlanması*. İstanbul:Avesta Yayınları. p. 59

[169] Celil, Celile. 2000. Kürt Aydınlanması. İstanbul:Avesta Yayınları. p. 60-61

[170] Malmîsanij and Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Cemiyeti , *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Cemiyeti ve Gazetesi* (İstanbul: Avesta, 1999), Celil, *Kürt Aydınlanması*. and Serhat Bozkurt ve Sezen Bilir, ed, *Hinkere zimane kurdi Kürt talebe hevi cemiyeti: İlk pratik Kürtçe öğrenme kitabı*, Bgst yayınları ; Kültürel çoğulculuk dizisi 24. 3 (İstanbul: Bgst yayınları, 2008).

Newspaper 1324: Publication of the society's views printed in Selanik Press. Under title of the newspaper was written: 'now printed once a week this is a religious, scientific, political, literary, social newspaper.' The editor of the newspaper was Diyabekirli Ahmed Cemil (Ahmed Cemil from Diyarbekir) and the concessionaire, author and manager selected by the association was Süleymaniyeli Tevfik. Our pages always welcomed Kurdish writers, thinkers who wrote about the home of this newspaper. Then on the same page, there were unpublished articles that were not reversed. One year subscription for the to the rural areas were 80 kuruş and for six months it was 45 kuruş but written on the home page, one issue is one kuruş. For leaders of an association the first issue was 5 kuruş. Its place of management was the General Center of Kurd Teavün ve Terakki.

About the Armenian Question in the Newspaper

Many Kurdish intellectuals wrote for *The Kurdish Solidarity and Progress Newspaper* and they focused on many different subjects, one of them was the Kurdish and Armenian relationship. The newspaper was released between December 1908 and March 1909 and the newspaper published a short manifesto about the aims of the society and its newspaper. In the nine issues the Kurdish and Armenian question was repeatedly discussed. Firstly, Kurdish civilization should compromise with other people especially with the Armenian people according to the manifesto. This was their main aim.[171] Consequently, the society wanted to restore its relationship with the Armenians and other people in Kurdistan. Babanzade İsmail Hakkı, who was a member of the famous Kurdish family *Baban* wrote an article about the Kurds and Kurdistan in the first issue, he analyzed the Kurdish and Armenian relationship, he wrote about some people, and groups and said that the two communities were enemies to each other. According to Babanzade, this was not true, Kurds and Armenians lived well together

[171] Bozarslan, M. Emin. 1998. *Kürd Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi*. Upsala: Deng Yayınevi. P. 63

and they got on well with each other.[172] İsmail Hakkı is an important person whom Kurdish people respected. And because of this, we can understand that it was not only Babanzade but all of society who wanted to improve the relationship with Armenian people. The second writer was a president of the society namely Seyyid Abdulqadir. He wrote about equality for all communities in the empire and he claimed the Armenian society was seen only as victims, according to this idea other communities were being persecuted. Therefore, this is a problem because rights cannot be achieved in this way. According to him, Kurds were being shown as a persecuted group and he did not accept this point of view.

The end of the second issue (December 1908) there was an interesting explanation; it was about the Armenian relationship and it offered an explanation of the efforts of reconciliation between the two communities that has been largely achieved. We also understand that the Kurdish society undertook to discuss the Armenian committees and created a mixed council for establishing peace between the two communities and it is understood that they asserted significant improvements in this regard. They indicated the process would continue.[173] This is an important and democratic condition because they were giving a report to the readers and to the Kurdish people, however in other issues the same writer; İsmail Hakkı Babanzade discussed the geography and territory of Kurdistan in the article titled 'Geography and Politic Situation of Kurds.' Despite giving detailed information about the borders of Kurdistan, he did not mention Armenian people and their geography. According to this claim, the territory's name was Kurdistan and many different people were living there. The question of territory was one of the main problems among the people but the Kurdish people did not

[172] Ibid, p. 69

[173] Ibid, p. 127

debate this issue.[174] An important example in terms of co-movement of the two peoples was a telegraph; the newspaper was giving us an example of living together; they published a telegraph from Diyarbakir about the social problem between two Kurd tribes. In order to find a solution to this problem they met with representatives of the Armenians, Assyrians and Chaldeans and Mufti, Nakib, and Mayors who were gathered by Mutasarrıf. As a solution, Mutasarrıf wanted to give a message after the Second Constitution in Kurdistan.[175] In other words when people wanted to solve a problem among them, they acted together as community leaders.

In the seventh issue (January1909) there is some interesting information and at the end of the issue there is an explanation by the members of the society that says our society is giving a memorandum to the ministry of the interior and it was taken into account by the Bab-i Âli. They gave a memorandum however, [176] in the explanation it is understood that they wanted to solve fundamental problems.

> Memorandum content was presented by our institution to the supreme The Ministry of Interior with the aim of explaining precautions applied for completely solving disagreements between two nations in cities where Kurds and Armenians lived peacefully. It was made by Babıâlî. Now, we are demanding it to be put into force

[174] Bozarslan, Bozarslan, *Kürd teavün ve terakkî gazetesi,* 1998. p. 206-208

[175] Ibid, p. 271

[176] 'Meclis-i Vükela Müzâkerâtına Mahsûs Varakasıdır. Hulâsa-i Meâli: Dersaâdet'de müteşekkil Kürd Teâvün ve Terakki Cem'iyyeti tarafından Dâhiliyye Nezâreti'ne verilub tevdî olunan muhtıra ile Anadolu ahvâlinin tahkik ve ıslahı ve ol bâbda tedâbir-i âcile ve müessire ittihâzı içün bir veyâ müteaddid hey'etler i'zâmina Bâb-ı Âlice karâr verildiği istihbâr kılındığından bahs ile bazı ifadât ve mütâlâtı havî Ermeni Patriki Efendi Tarafından verilen takrîr kırâat olundu.' Malmisanij. 2009. *İlk Kürt Gazetesi Kürdistan'ı Yayımlayan Abdurrahman Bedirhan (1868,1936)* Transcription, İstanbul: Vate Yayınları, p. 201-202

> from great interest of Great Minister of Pasha Interior known with the hugeness and majesty. So called memorandum aims that two nations will be happy and get on better in the future. Therefore, it is exactly intented and desired to be implemented by our Armenian citizens also.[177]

It mentions the happiness of two groups of people and by the end of the explanation, wants to provide a better life for the future. This condition shows that both Kurds and Armenians used the Kurdish Solidarity and progress Newspaper to solve and to discuss their problems all the while looking for a solution regarding state bureaucracy. [178] Thus, they tried to avoid social and political conflict between two groups.

In the newspaper, the last discussion on this subject took place in the last issue. Hüseyin Pashazade Süleyman wrote an article the name of which was *Kurds and Armenians*. This article perhaps was the most effective writing on this topic in the newspaper issues about the situation of living together, identity and history. Before the Kurdish intellectuals structured a Kurdish identity built against Armenian nationalism, namely it was a reflective nationalism. However, Pashazade Süleyman created a new definition for the relationship between the two groups of people, and he was making a new history retroactive of the communities. Because of the new relationship and for a peaceful future he was constructing a new history.

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[177] 'KürdlerİE Ermenilerin sakin oldukları vilâyâtta bu iki kavm arasında mevcud ba'zı ihtilâfâtı esasından fasl-ü tesviyeye salih tedabîri mübeyyin olmak üzre cemiyetimiz tarafından Dâhiliye Nezaret-i celîlesine akdemce takdim olunmuş ve Babıâlî'ce lütfen nazar-ı dikkat ve i'tinaya alınmış olan muhtıra münderecatının bir an evvel saha-ı icraya vaz'ını, Dâhiliye Nâzırı Paşa hazretlerinin inayât-ı mehaşinasî-i devletlerinden beklemekteyiz. Mârrüzzikr muhtıra münderecatı, her iki kavmin âtiyen saadet-i halini ve bir kat dahahüsn-i âmîzişlerini te'mîn edecek bir mahiyette bulunduğundan, Ermeni vatandaşlarımızca dahusûlü begayet arzu ve temennî olunmaktadır.' Bozarslan, *Kürd teavün ve terakkî gazetesi*, 1998. p. 340

[178] Ibid, p. 340

The author primarily penned a historical background of living together as two communities and he wrote a detailed story about living together in BC 2600. Then he mentions there is one geographical area where Armenian people had previously lived, consequently they now lived there. Kurdistan is a country of Kurds since the age of Medya. According to the writer, Kurds and Armenians protected each other during this historical process against external attacks on the land. However, they had different religions and over a long period of time, they had managed to live together until now. Consequently, the two groups of people neither had great problems, nor small issues among them, but any issues that arose could be resolved.

> Those who sincerely love the country and state mostly desire that Kurds and Armenian reach welfare and happiness thanks to peace and conciliation in a brotherhood. (…) Summarily, both Kurds and Armenian are so close to each other in terms of good moral and situation. The Kurds rightly depended on Islamic Sharia law that has been exempt from situations against the Sharia law and they have respected to Armenian rights according to the law. But of course, Armenian did not believe some deceptions of instigators based on erasing peace and comfort and who have found bigotry attractive. Also, there is no doubt Armenians have been living with an exact welfare and harmony environment that has no obstacle and problem. Since before 2600 years of birth of Christ, Kurds and Armenian have been living with a full of brotherhood and love. If it was like that and there were discord and conflict between them, either of them would destroy the other in this period. (…) Not only Armenian has been old residents of that land, but also today it is proven that Kurds, the successors of Medias, have been old original residents of that land. (…) When Armenians accepted Christianity and Kurds were honored with the birth of Islam, the religion difference between them never damaged their old brotherhood. (…) As soon as the Constitution, the certificate of evidence guaranteeing our well-being future, was declared, this good

news reflecting to all Ottoman Empire was met with a big enthusiasm and happiness. After that, Kurds and Armenian met this news with a big happiness and kissed and made up each other. The darkness of despotism surrounding both nations was beaten by the freedom sunlight of future. And then, they knew each other. [179]

This writing was like a mission article or declaration with the purpose of describing two groups of people's relationship. The Kurdish intellectual group who was a member of the society wanted to restore the relationship with Armenians. For this idea, we try to give some examples in the newspaper.

As a result, the announcement of the Second Constitutional Era meant the end of the Kurdish and Armenian policy of the Abdulhamid era, especially during the early part of the Second Constitutional period. The situation showed an awareness of the two people's intellectual groups. The peace efforts continued during this period (1908-1913). Both Kurds and Armenians made an effort to solve the problems that were created by the Abdulhamid II regime. However this peace period did not continue for long. After the Balkan wars, nationalist movements were quickly awakened, because the empire lost Balkan territory.

[179] 'Kürdlerle Ermenilerin saye-i hürriyette hembezm-ı vifak olarak nâil-i refah-ü saadet olmuş olduklarını görmek, bu memleket ve devleti cidden sevenlerce en ziyade arzu olunacak bir keyfiyet olup (…) Velhâsıl, gerek Kürdlerin ve gerek Ermenilerin mehasın-ı ahlak ve mekârım-ı sîretleri birbirinin mütenazırı olduğu, esasen şeriat-ı İslâmiyeye bihakkın mütemessik olan Kürdlerin hilâf-ı şeriat-ı garra ahvaldan minelkadîm tamamıyla ictinab etmiş ve ber muktaza-yı şeriat-ı İslâmiye Ermenilerin hukukuna her vechle riayet eylemiş oldukları ye Ermenilerin dahi taassubu câlib ve huzur-ı ârâmişi sâlib telkînâtta bulunan ba'zı münafıkıynın tesvilâtma kapılmadıkları ve aralarında hiç bir mani' ve mezahım mevcûd olmayarak kemal-i refah-ü vifakla yaşadıkları, ca-yı bahs-ü münazara değildir (…) Vakta ki Ermeniler Hristiyanlığı kabul ve Kürdler de zuhur-ı İslâmla müşerref oldular, aralarında hâsıl olan mübayenet-i din, vifak-ı kadîmlerini zerre kadar ihlal etmedi (…) Vaktaki hüccet-i selâmet ve istikbalimiz olan Kanun-ı Esasî i'lân olundu, bütün memalik-i Osmaniye'ye tanîn'endaz olan bu haber-i meserret'eser kemai-i şevk-ü şadı ile alkışlandı ve bu meserret-i umumiye arasında Kürdler ve Ermeniler dahi hemdest-i bezm-i.vifak olarak birbirleriyle öpüşüp barıştı. Her iki milleti ihata etmiş olan şeb-i deycûr-ı istibdadın şems-i tâbân-ı hürriyetle recinden sonra, birbirlerini tanıyıp…' Bozarslan, *Kürd teavün ve terakkî gazetesi*, 1998. p. 431-433

Other ethnic and religious groups increased the nationalist idea, and intellectual activity among Arabs, Turks, Kurds and Armenians. In 1913 was the year that nationalist ideas emerged. Consequently, the period of peace, which had occurred between 1908 and 1913 ended. The alliance and toleration continued for a short time, and *The Committee Union and Progress* took the place of Abdulhamid II. In other words, the committee carried the conflict policy of Abdulhamid using different tools.

CHAPTER VII: *Rojî Kurd* / Kurdish Sun Journal

A New Society and a New Publication

Kürt Talebe-Hêvî Cemiyeti (Kurdish Student Hope Society) published *Rojî Kurd* (Kurdish Sun) *as a journal in 1913 as four issues*. Kurdish students who studied at high school in Istanbul founded the society.[180] One of these students was Kadri Cemilpasha (Zinar Silopi) who was co-founder of the society and from Diyarbakır, the famous Kurdish family Cemilpaşazade. He wrote in his memoirs about that period and when they began to establish the community, there were Ömer Cemilpaşa, Fuad Temo, and Diyarbakırlı Cerrahzade Zeki and other members of the community along with Kadri Cemilpashazade. He says they gave a license and opened the society in 1912.[181] Gülseren Duman prepared a master thesis about the formation of the Kurdish movements during that era, and she argues the society was the first student organization of Kurds.[182] The society published three journals in two years; firstly *Rojî Kurd*, secondly *Yekbûn* and *Hetawî Kurd*[183] There are two different edition of the *Rojî Kurd* Journal, one of them is Kovara Cemiyeta Hêvî, *Roj-I Kurd*, 1st ed. (Stenbol: Weşanên WAR, 2002) and the second is Kürdoloji Çalışmaları Grubu, *Rojî Kurd 1913* (İstanbul: Weşanên Enstîtuya Kurdî ya Stenbolê, 2013). [184]

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[180] Bozkurt ve Bilir, *Hinkere zimane kurdi Kürt talebe hevi cemiyeti*. p. 18

[181] Kadri Cemil Paşa, *Doza Kurdistan = (Kürdistan davası): Kürt milletinin 60 yıllık esaretten kurtuluş savaşı hatıraları*, 2. basım (Ankara: Öz-Ge Yayınları, 1991). p. 28

[182] Duman, Gülseren, «'The Formations of the Kurdish Movement(s) 1908-1914: Exploring the Footprints of Kurdish Nationalism,'» (Boğaziçi University, Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History, Unpublished Thesis., 2010). p. 107

[183] Bozkurt ve Bilir, *Hinkere zimane kurdi Kürt talebe hevi cemiyeti*. p. 24, and Malmîsanij, *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Cemiyeti ve Gazetesi*. p. 146-149

[184] Kovara Cemiyeta Hêvî, *Roj-I Kurd*, 1st ed. (Stenbol: Weşanên WAR, 2002) and Kürdoloji Çalışmaları Grubu, *Rojî Kurd1913* (İstanbul: Weşanên Enstîtuya Kurdî ya Stenbolê, 2013).

Kadri Cemilpashazade's justification for the establishment of Kurdish nationalism was different from the earlier Kurdish intellectual. Namely, Kurdish national identity defined itself against Armenian nationalism and on the establishment of an Armenia. But Kadri Cemilpashazade wrote that Ottomanism had transformed into Turkism, so the parts of the Ottoman Muslim groups that are Arabians, Albanians and Kurds began to establish their national identities in opposition to Turkism.[185] Thereby the target and enemy of Kurdish Nationalism transformed from Armenian nationalism into Turkish nationalism. On the other hand, Hakan Özoğlu argues the *Hevî* community was not nationalist, because the young group did not want to establish a state, and the members of that community were not doing propaganda advocating the separation and autonomy of Kurdistan.[186] However, we can discuss a few writers of *Rojî Kurd* Journal whose collective identity perceptions were on the nationalist or cultural nationalist identity.

Rojî Kurd was published as four issues and the Armenian-Kurdish relationship was discussed in some of the articles; the writings of Abdullah Cevdet were included in one of them. Cevdet analyzed the political system of Switzerland and it's cantons in his *İtihat Yolu* (Union Way) article, which says that the Ottoman government must understand the coexistence of different people in the empire. The article was giving messages to Kurds while reminding people of the state's responsibilities, and Abdullah Cevdet had pro-western and positivist ideas, because he defended the idea that the changing of Kurdish people will be through modern education, so,

[185] He gave the name of these people community and publications: 'Her Suretle artik Osmanlilik tabiri kalkmiş devleti teşkil eden diğer islam unsurlarinin ögündükleri osmanlilik türkçülük şekline çevrilmişti, işte bu türkçülük siyaseti tesiri ledirki kendilerini mazlum vaziyette gören osmanli islam unsurlari Araplar, Arnavutlar Kürtlerde kendi milliyetlerini ortaya koymak lüzumunu hissederek milli teşekküller meydana getirdiler Araplar müntediül- edebi, Arnavutlar Başkim, Kürtlerde HEVI cemyetlerin tesis etmişlerdi. Birer talebe cemiyeti olan bu teşsekküller hakikatta milli duygularin intişsarina birer başlangiç olmuştu.' Kadri Cemil Paşa, *Doza Kurdistan = (Kürdistan davası)*. p. 27

[186] Özoğlu, *Osmanlı Devleti ve Kürt milliyetçiliği*. p. 106

he asked for the Latin alphabet in order to enlighten the Kurdish people. Therefore, he joined almost all Kurdish societies and publications and he wrote that humanity is in the nationalist era, thus Kurds should take place in this new age as individuals and as a society.[187] Thereby he wanted to give closest examples on Armenian enlightenment:

> Our Kurdish citizens are living together with Armenian citizens. The villages where Armenian live, Shakespeare's 'Hamlet', 'Macbeth', 'Julius Caesar', 'King Lear' are being read. They are reading Works of Alfieri, Dante, Montesquieu, and Darwin in Armenian villages. These Works were translated to the Armenian language in the school of 'Mekinarists' in Venice fifty years before (Yes, it has been fifty years already). They are also reading the copies of these Works that were published in the great publishing house of the same Armenian school. In this kind of empire, would a non-peaceful environment be possible? My heart is full of hope. If there is one having no hope, he or she may come to near me: 'Anyone is coming miserable to us goes away with happiness![188]

Babanzade İsmail Hakkı who was minister of education of the empire was other important person a member of the Kurdish intellectual group in Istanbul; he was a high bureaucrat of the state but, on the other hand, helped to *Kürd Neşr-i Maarif Cemiyeti* was founded by Kurdish intellectuals[189] after the closing of the *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi*. This society also

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[187] Kürdoloji Çalışmaları Grubu, *Rojî Kurd1913*. p. 240-241

[188] 'Kürd vatandaşlarımız Ermenî vatandaşlarımızla yan yana yaşıyorlar. Ermenî vatandaşlarımızın köylerinde (Şekspir) in 'Hamlet''i 'Makbet'i, 'Jul Sezar'ı, 'Kral Lir'i okunuyor. Ermenî köylerinde (Alfiyeri)nin, (Dante)nin (Monteskyo)nun, (Darvin)nin bundan elli sene evvel [evet elli sene evvel] Ermenîceye (Venedik) şehrinde 'Mekinarist'ler mektebinde tercüme ve 'aynî mü'essese-i Ermeniyyenin mu'azzam matba'asında tab' idilmiş âsârını okuyorlar. İrtifâ'ları bu kadar gayr-ı müsâvî silâhları çatmak ve imparatorluğumuzda bir huzûr-ı fa'âlâne görmek müyesser olur mu? Benim gönlüm ümîd ile doludur. Ümîdi olmayanlar yanıma gelsinler: 'Her gelen şâd gider gamlı gelir yanımıza!' Ibid. p. 140-141

[189] Bozkurt ve Bilir, *Hinkere zimane kurdi Kürt talebe hevi cemiyeti*. p. 17

opened a new school with the name of Mekteb-i Meşrutiyet (The School of Constitutionalism) that was handled by Abdurrahman Bedirkhan, and Babanzade supported the financing of the school.[190] İsmail Hakkı Babanzade, who was one of writers of the *Rojî Kurd*, asked for the enlightenment of the Kurdish people and to re-educate, hence he demanded help from the Ottoman Empire in the third issue of the periodical. He compared both Kurds and Armenians and according to him, the two groups of people were not equal in terms of education and enlightenment. Accordingly, the Ottoman State should help to Kurdish people for educationand Babanzade defended on one hand the rising of the Kurdish nation but on the other hand wanted the continuation of the Ottoman Empire: "It is definitely required that Kurds, deprieved of knowledge, should be newly educated and redeveloped who are donated with deficient spiritual weapons in terms of life and competitions against especially Armenian citizens that are one of neighbour nations of Kurds as a result of this deprivation. It is no doubt that Ottoman Empire will work for Kurdish nation and giving any kind of support. However, Kurds are those who are able to make the biggest support themselves".[191]

These Ottomanist and pre-Kurdish nationalist ideas were admitted by Lütfi Fikri who was one of the other writers of the journal, according to him Kurdish people could not fight with Armenian people and the Ottoman State; in other words they should continue a peaceful policy during that period:

> A Kurdish nation who knew their identity tried to fight its neighbors such as Armenian or separate from Ottoman can never last long because any separation from peace and

[190] Duman, Gülseren, ''The Formations of the Kurdish Movement(s) 1908-1914: Exploring the Footprints of Kurdish Nationalism.'' p. 101-102

[191] 'Bu derece mahrûmiyyet-i 'irfân içinde yuvarlanan ve yuvarlandığı içün kendisiyle mücâvir olan kavme ve bi'lhâssa Ermenî vatandaşlarına karşı 'âlemi rekâbet ve hayâtda pek noksân esliha-i ma'neviyye ile mücehhez bulunan Kürd kavmini 'âdetâ yeniden yetişdirmek ve her şeyden evvel tahsîl-i ibtidâ'iyyesinin neşr û ta'mîmine çalışmak lâzımdır.' Kürdoloji Çalışmaları Grubu, 'Rojî Kurd1913.' p. 170

welfare can definitely cause long lasting damage. Those who want the Kurdish nation to become visible shall not be intent on contributing to the ideas of break-up available in Anatolian. Of course, they have rightly foreseen the need of place and time about this matter. With the aim of this, they may have aimed to work about Kurdishness to be a strong peace and happiness factor in Anatolia not a new separation factor. For this situation and condition, I sincerely wish that a Kurdish nation appears and actually awakens and I greet this kind of situation with respect. [192]

Land Question and Deadlock

As examples, we can see two different articles in the journal, one of them in the first issue that was written by Xezal as Kurdish. This article had the same content as the other article and it focused on the development and enlightenment of Kurdish people, but it had an amazing point about the Kurdish and Armenian relationship; according to the writer the two groups of people came from the same origins, from Assyrians and after the emergence of two religion (Christianity and Islam) they were separated and one of them was Kurdish, the other group was Armenian; they lived together and had the same law over the same territory.[193] In *The Kurdish Solidarity and Progress Newspaper,* Hüseyin Pashazade Süleyman wrote an article with the title of *Kurds and Armenians,* in which he argued that the two people had been living together for 2600 years as neighbors, but in *Rojî Kurd*, Xezal alleged a more original thought:

[192] ‘Kendini bilmiş ve bildiği dakîkadan i‘tibâren yanındaki milliyyetlerle meselâ Ermenîlerle derhâl mübârezeye kalkışmış yâhûd Devlet-i ‘Osmâniyyeden iftirâka ‘azm itmiş bir Kürd milleti kat‘iyyen ve kâtıbeten şu ‘asırda pâyidâr olamaz. Sulh ve müsâlemetden zerre kadar ayrılmak onun sûret-i kat‘iyyede ve dâ’imede bâ‘is-i izmihlâl ve harâbisi olabilir. Kürd milliyyetinin tecelliyyâtına hâdim olanlar onu Anadoluda zâten mevcûd bunca esbâb-ı teşettüde bir dâne daha ‘ilâve itmek fikriyle ortaya atmış olamazlar. Onlar muhakkak zamânın ve muhîtin bu bâbdaki îcâbâtını bi-hakkın takdîr itmişler ve Kürdlüğün yeni bir sebeb-i teşettüt değil belki Anadoluda kavî bir ‘unsur-ı sulh û müsâlemet ve feyz û sa‘âdet olması içün çalışmağı kendilerine bir emel ittihâz idinmişlerdir. İşte şu dâ’ire ve şart dâhilinde ben de Kürd milletinin zuhûrunu daha doğrusu teyakkuzunu kemâl-i hürmetle selâmlarım ve muvaffakıyyeti içün en hâlis temenniyyâtda bulunurum.’ Ibid. p. 51 and 204

[193] Ibid. p. 122-124

that the peoples had the same origin. The writer is reminding the communities of their peaceful past.

The second writer was Hüseyin Şükri who wrote a 'realist' article about the agrarian or land question[194] between the two societies, for peace he claimed the land question should not be revived. His question regarding land was discussed a long time after the mid-nineteenth century between two people, because many Kurdish tribes seized Armenian and Kurdish peasants' land, which was a conscious policy of the state, especially in the Hamidian era, and after the Armenian pogrom in the 1890s many Armenian migrated to Caucasia. When constitutionalism was declared, Armenian patriarchate and parliamentarians began to work on the land question and wanted Armenians who had gone out of the Armenian plateau or West Armenia to return, thus many of them returned to the land. Unfortunately, a lot of Armenian did not settle in their land, accordingly the Armenian parliamentarians wanted to discuss the matter in the parliament.[195]

Regardless, the two peoples did not find a solution to this problem. Kurdish leaders had different opinions during that period about the agrarian question or the Armenian reform, according to tribe leaders in Kurdistan the debate about the land was not questioned. In spite of that, Kurdish intellectuals outside of Kurdistan asked to discuss the question and wanted to

[194] This question lasted long time between two people; for all that the question after the declaration of the second constitution the matter came up of Armenians and European diplomats.
'Shortly after the Ottoman constitution was reinstated in 1908, a new 'question' added itself to the list of the many 'question' debated by Ottoman as they pressed for changes under the new order. The 'Agrarian Question' as it came to be known by Armenian leaders and European diplomats who took a keen interest in the matter, was actually, however, not truly an agrarian question. It was not about land reform in the usual sense, nor was it about how to promote agricultural productivity or good land-use practices. Rather, It was a euphemism for the matter of the Armenian lands usurped during the previous decades mostly by Kurdish tribal chiefs.' Klein, Janet, «Power in the Periphery: Hamidiye Light Cavalry and the Struggle Over Ottoman Kurdistan, 1890-1914». p. 261

[195] Kevorkian, *Ermeniler*. p. 28-30

find a solution to the problem; both two groups' approaches were not homogeneous regarding the question. Hüseyin Şükri was in the intellectual group and he also did not want the matter to be discussed, according to him if the people debated the question, brotherhood will not be established between the two communities;

> Why does the land problem that has always been a matter of disagreement and a complaint for both sides come to my mind whenever there is talk about strengthening the brotherhood between Kurdish and Armenian citizens? Unless this problem comes to an agreement based on pecuniary and natural advantage, they will always turn their backs in disagreement. When they shake their hands, they will always remember that and therefore, I am so worried about they will be affected by the boringness of this dead or alive matter and fed by the poison of disagreement.[196]

On one hand, the writer relates the question to a different question from Europe between France and German that it was known as *Alsas Loren*. He quoted a sentence from the French politician Gambeta; 'this case should be always thought but never mentioned about.'[197] Şükri did not want to discuss about the worn matter as the member of two societies, because the question is an obstacle for brotherhood between two people. On the other hand, he suggested the people could not go to courts, they can apply to local or governing law and perhaps the question can be solved in this way. In my opinion the writer wanted to keep out any solution offered by Russia and European countries, he rejected the intervention of other countries as

[196] 'Kürdlerle Ermenî vatandaşlar arasında te'yîd-i uhuvvetden, teşyîd-i bünyân âmîz-i şedden bahs olundukça hatırıma -bilmem neden- dâ'imâ şu zamânlardan beri muhtelefün-fîh kalmış, her iki tarafca senelerden beri bâdî-i şikâyât olmuş arâzî mes'elesi vehleten tebâdür ider. Bu işin halli etrâfında pek mâddî ve tabî'î menâfi'a istinâden bir halka-i i'tilâf vücûda getirilmezse bu iki 'unsurun yekdiğerinin elini sıkdıkca dâ'imâ önlerindeki hufre-i kadîme-i ihtilâfa istemeyerek bakmalarından ve bu sûretle şu me'sele-i meytenin cesed-i bî-rûhundan her iki taraf helâhil-i ihtilâfının bir gıdâyı ma'nevî bulmasından endîşe iderim.'Kürdoloji Çalışmaları Grubu, *Roj-i Kurd 1913*. p. 205

[197] 'dâ'imâ bu vakâyi'i düşünmeli fakat hîç bir zamân da ondan bahs eylememeli' Ibid. p. 205

well as other Kurdish intellectuals, because the intellectuals thought only of one of the sides of the reason of the question, which was the influence of the western countries. Therefore, he said that the question should have a solution but both two societies should do it together, not with the involvement of other countries.[198]

[198] Ibid. p. 300-302

CHAPTER VIII: *Hetavî Kurd* / Kurdish Sun Journal

Whether *Rojî Kurd* ceased publication because of a member of the journal or it was closed by the state is not clear, but after the fourth issue, it was shut down and discussions began regarding a different journal,[199] moreover Kadri Cemilpashazade who was co-founder of the *Hêvî* communities, wrote, *the member of CUP closed Rojî Kurd*.[200] The actions of the CUP could be because the political situation of the period changed and the member of the CUP made a *coup d'état* against the Bab-ı Alî/government, so after five years the committee would dominate all oppressive policy just like during Hamidian period of the empire.[201] The committee controlled all the opposition press in the empire and after the closing of *Rojî Kurd.* The government arrested M. Salih Bedirkhan because of his article, which was published in Rojî Kurd. Accordingly, the CUP was most likely responsible for the closing of the Rojî Kurd.[202]

A few months later, this intellectual group opened a new periodical by the name of *Hetawî Kurd* in September 1913, but between these journals, there was also a different journal named *Yekbûn* (Unity) , and Malmîsanij claimed three issues were published , but there are no issues to be found anywhere.[203] Hetawî Kurd published ten issues but only issues 1, 2, 3, 4-5

[199] Ibid. p. 66-67

[200] Kadri Cemilpashazade had written; '…ROJI KURT Mecmuasi hükümet tarafindan tatil edildikten sonra Mikisli Hamza beyin İdaresi altinda HETAVE KURD mecmuasi Çikmaga başladi.' Kadri Cemil Paşa, *Doza Kurdistan = (Kürdistan davası)*. p. 36

[201] Dündar, *Modern Türkiye'nin Şifresi*. p. 57-66

[202] Kürdoloji Çalışmaları Grubu, *Roj-i Kurd 1913*. p. 66

[203] Malmisanij, *Kürt Talebe-Hēvī Cemiyeti (1912-1922): Ilk Legal Kürt Ögrenci Derneği* (İstanbul: Avesta, 2002) p. 146-149 and Bozkurt ve Bilir, *Hinkere zimane kurdi Kürt talebe hevi cemiyeti*. p. 24

(together) and 10 are available.[204] *Kurdoloji Studies Group (Kürdoloji Çalışmaları Grubu)* transcribed the corresponded issues of journal. The texts were prepared collectively and as I am a member of the group I also used these documents.

Education and civilization are the most basic emphasis in the issues of the journal and the Armenian and Kurdish relationship was analyzed on this topic via making comparisons of how the Armenians had progressed but how the Kurds had remained behind, not progressing like the Armenians, thus the approach had made its mark in the journal's issues.

The Civilizing Mission of Kurds and Armenian Sample

In the first issue there was a Kurdish essay which was written by the name of M…X (he is Xelîl Xeyalî, Modanî X, 1865- 1946).[205] Xeyalî claimed that the Kurds had saved the Armenians from their enemies for over a thousand five hundred years and the Kurds had protected their honor during this time. However, they were constantly writing about their complaints of European countries, and they opened many schools for their children within twenty and thirty years, we marveled at this situation. In a corner of the territory of Kurdistan there are some Armenians living there so they called the place Fillistan (Armenia). Their aims were to bereave Kurdistan and erase our name from the earth. They are working hard to achieve this aim with a single hearth, language and lots of effort.[206] Xeyalî focused on two

[204] http://katalog.ibb.gov.tr/yordambt12/yordam.php?-vt=YordamBT12&ac=arama&betik=hetav&bolumsanal=008

[205] Kürdoloji Çalışmaları Grubu, *Roj-i Kurd 1913*. p. 85

[206] 'Ew fille ku ji hezar û pêncsed sal zedetire ku kurd wan ji dest[ê] neyarê wan xelas kiriye malê wan 'irz û namûs[ê] wan weku mal[ê] xweh 'irz[ê] xweh xudanî lê kiriye ji her xerapiyê heyaneta (?) wan kiriye û gelek qavmî be ku ji bona wan xu dabe kuştin. Di mukabil vê qancî hada bi şev û bi roj li xerapiya me dikirin derhaq[ê] me da haleferhale (?) evrûpayê da tiştê wisan dinivîs û dibêjin ku mirov tê da heyirî dimînê. Nêzîk bîst sîh sale ku li her alî mekteban vekirine zaroy xu dune xwendin û şareza dikin. Li koşeê yek Kurdistanê da nihayet çar heb fille heye ji bona wî ji Kurdistanê ra fillistan dibêjin çav[ê] wan li wê ye ku Kurdistan ji destê me bigrin nav[ê] me ji dinê wenda bikin. Mêrikan ji bo na vê nasekinin dixe[bi]tin yek dil û yek ziman û yek xîretin.

subjects, one of them is the territory and living together in the country and the other is the Armenians' marvelous educational processes, namely he criticizes the Armenians about the country because he was afraid that the condition of the region was related to the relationship between Armenians and the European states as well as their exemplary developments.

Another writer whose name is 'T' wrote an article about the education of the Kurdish youth, the title of the article was 'A wish to our Kurdish Youth'. The writer gave an example of the Armenian youth and analyzed their process of education. He said these young people first go to schools in European countries then they return to their homeland for Armenian enlightenment or education, accordingly the position of these young people plays a very significant role:

> After being educated in Europe, Armenian youth do not accept the first work opportunity that comes their way no matter how high the salary is offered to them from government or banks. During the first two or three years they work to serving the development of their homeland in return for the meager wage of three hundred piaster per month. After that, they travel around Anatolia and fulfill their moral obligations to the motherland and nation then they choose the work they prefer. Therefore, I am writing this in order to encourage Kurdish youth to work.[207]

Another article which was written by Mevlanzâde Rıfat emphasized the Armenian-Kurdish brotherhood just like the few articles of *The Kurdish Solidarity and Progress Newspaper* and *Rojî Kurd* Journal on the Armenian enlightenment and uses the example of the Armenians,

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Em van dibînin û 'ibret nagirin çima em mekteban; venakin çima em wek wan nax[w]înin bi hev nakevin yek dil û yek dest nabin her ke bexebitin û mirov bigihînî ew serdest dibe…' Hetawî Kurd, first issue, 'Jî Mazin[ên] Kurdan Ra Ye' (To Kurdish Elders), p. 19-22

[207] *Hetawî Kurd*, first issue, 'Kürd Gençlerimizden Bir Temenni' (A wish to our Kurdish Youth), p. 8-10

because, according to him two people coming from the same origins believing in different religions are two societies divided. The title of the article was *Sosyolojik! Muhterem Hetawî Kurd Gazetesi Kurucularına*, (Sociologic! The Venerable Founders of Hetawî Kurd Newspaper), the founders of the journal were Kurdish youth and Rıfat mentioned Armenian's progress in many points but the Kurdish people were not like them. Therefore, we can progress just like the Armenians but nobody helped us, we saved ourselves. He argued that Kurdish youth should go to Europe for education; his point is the same as the writer 'T' and before we analyze our questions, let's set our goals and later return to Kurdistan:

> Our friends who are Armenian are seeking their identity and existence. We should know and follow these friends. (…) As it is well known, Kurds and Armenian are parentage of the same tribe Urdu-Urartu. The origin of us and them goes back to 'Urdu' people settling from Palestine Mountains to Rwandz/Rewandiz. We and Armenian are children of the 'Urdu' tribe. Our alphabet, literature and language and national customs were the same but Armenian has accepted Christianity then. They searched for a different existence from us. They have progressed lately. They run after ambiguous aim. That is the reason why Armenian and Kurds are walking on different way now.(…) I wish that Kurds and Armenian these two having same ethnic origin ran after the same aim and constituted the one 'life harmony'. Kurds have left behind…Armenian have progressed somewhat. Do not think that they will not come near to this wish. Now, it's time for us, Kurds to show ourselves, of course time will put us and them together. (…) What we, Kurds should do is to save ourselves. No Kurd wants his or her nation to die, destroy in mankind, and be erased by a nation having the same origin. Therefore, each Kurd should accept that 'we should save ourselves.' (…) I hope that founders of 'Hetawî Kurd' take this national responsibility as a goal. The establishment of this science committee in Istanbul is more functional

and suitable. At this point I can show our Armenian citizens. When they felt the urgency of social and national revolution, they did not spread their educated young to villages, Anatolian. Firstly, their scholars gathered in a European city and they thought about what they would make and came to a decision. Then, they came our district to spread their agreed aims… We also should do the same. Firstly, we should gather and make our aims ready and then go to Kurdistan.[208]

The focal points of the journal were the civilizing and developing of the Kurdish people. In the *Kurdistan newspaper* Abdurrahman Bedirkhan defended this idea, but he usually sent the message to Abdulhamid II about his cruelty and slaughters against Armenians and Kurds. After the Second Constitutional Era, Kurdish intellectuals changed the content of the articles and the civilizing and education of the Kurds as well as Kurdish nationalism became the main themes after the new period within these publications. In other words, Kurdish intellectuals debated reforms that were usually prepared for Armenians and Kurds. Writers rejected this idea; the reforms should be for two people in the east of the empire. The article of Babê Naco (Xelil Xeyalî) was polemic about this matter stating that the Armenian education institution

[208] 'Arkadaşlarımız olan Ermeniler varoluşlarını (mevcudiyet) arıyorlar. Bu arkadaşlarımızı bilmemiz, tam anlamıyla takip etmemiz lazımdır. (…) Bilindiği gibi Kürtler ve Ermeniler aynı kavmin Urdu-Urartu kavminin torunlarındandırlar. Bizim ve onların başlangıç tarihlerini; Filistin Dağları'ndan Revanduz Dağları'na kadar uzanan 'Urdu' kavmi oluşturur, biz ve Ermeniler bu 'Urdu' kavminin evladıyız. Harflerimiz, edebiyat ve lisanımız, ırki geleneklerimiz bir iken, sonradan Ermeniler Hıristiyanlığı kabul ettiler, bizden ayrı bir varoluş (mevcudiyet) aradılar. Son zamanlarda ilerleme kaydettiler. Belirsiz bir amacın arkasından koşmaya koyuldular. İşte bu tür hareketlerdir ki, bu gün Ermenileri biz Kürtlerden ayrı bir yolda bulunduruyor. (…)Ben isterdim ki bu iki ırkdaş, Kürt Ermeni el ele versinler, aynı amaç arkasında çalışarak esaslı bir 'hayat ahengi' oluştursunlar. Evet, Kürtler bir parça geride… Ermeniler biraz ilerlemiş… Hiçbir zaman bu dileğimize yanaşmazlar zannedilmesin… Biz Kürtler kendimizi bir gösterelim; şüphesiz, zaman onları ve bizi birleştirir. (…) Şimdi biz Kürtlere düşen görev; başımızın çaresine bizzat bakmaktır. Tabii hiçbir Kürt, ırkının ölmesini, insanlık içinde sönmesini, ırkdaşı tarafından yutulmasını istemez. Bundan dolayı bu 'başımızın çaresine bizzat bakalım' cümlesine her Kürdün katılması lazımdır. (…) Ümit ederim ki bu milli görevi 'Hetaw-î Kurd' kurucuları gaye edinirler… Bu ilim heyetinin İstanbul'da kurulması daha faydalı ve makuldür bu noktada Ermeni ırkdaşlarımızı örnek olarak gösterebilirim. Onlar sosyal ve milli inkılâbın zorunluluğunu hissedince aydın gençlerini köylere, Anadolu'ya yaymadılar, öncelikle Avrupa'nın bir şehrinde âlimleri toplandı, yapacakları şeyleri düşündü ve karar verdiler. Sonra kararlaştırılan gayelerini etrafa yaymak için yöremize koşuştular… Biz de böyle yapalım önce amaçlarımızı toplatarak sağlam bir surette hazırlayalım da sonra Kürdistan'a gidelim.' *Hetavî Kurd*, second issue, p. 2-3

lacked the education of Kurdish people, modern times, and enlightenment in the region. Accordingly, Babê Naco analyzed an article of the Haçatur Abovyan, and Naco did not accept the Abovyan's idea that focused on the ignorance of the Kurds and the circumstances surrounding the education of Kurdish people. He makes a polemic over the Kurdish history and the life of present day:

> Mr Ahmet Cevdet states that Arsak Cobanyan Effendi, one of Armenian writer, published the lecture that he had given in Paris in the second day of June as an article then. 'I am transferring by translating these sentences in 19th page of the article called 'Past, Future and Social Progress of Armenian Nation' as they have shown that my reproach of a few lines to intellectual Kurdish young has been totally right.' Cobanyan Effendi tells that: 'As soon as reforms were made, first thing Armenians will want is to open schools for Kurds. Also, it is aimed that those bigoted schools teaching hate and humiliation are to be transformed to real education centers. It is unfair that Kurds who have stayed as Ksenefon saw do not have any school! However, Turks have a hundred fifty schools providing training for seventeen thousand students in all in Eastern Anatolian cities such as Diyarbakir, Harput, Bitlis, Van, and Erzurum. Armenian has more than seven hundred schools in those cities. This number reaches to seven hundred eighty five and eighty two thousand students including the Catholic and Protestant foreign schools of missionary all of which are almost Armenian schools. However as Cobanyan Effendi told, if Armenian want to establish schools for Kurds during reform, this will be so strange and interesting that it is illogical and nonsensical.(…) Does showing unprecedented kindness to us mean that all of those reforms will be just made for Armenian? Or planned reforms have no right and interest for Kurds is the reason why this kind of statement has been made? (…) The saying of 'Ksenefon' that Kurds have stayed the same since he saw them and even have not had

any school is a clear slander and so no worth denying (…) Now you are seeing and hearing who trains to Armenian people. That is not the Ministry of National Education training them but assiduous people belonging to that nation. It is recommended that if you do one tenth of they have done, it will be thankful also.[209]

Information about Armenians in the Kurdistan Letters

The journal did not merely include articles of writers; there were also a few letters that came from different parts of Kurdistan. We knew the diasporic Kurdish intellectuals, namely the writers debated on the Armenian question, pressed the publications in Istanbul but usually they discussed the question from Istanbul; perhaps the publication did not understand the everyday life of the Kurds and the Armenians in the Ottoman Kurdistan including the countryside. Thereby, the approach of the Kurdish press defended the diasporic idea of western part of the empire (or Modern World). Consequently the local power relationship and attitude of the tribes regarding Armenians were very significant, much more so than the intellectual who lived outside of Kurdistan because the role of the local powers were similar

[209] 'Ahmet Cevdet Bey makalesinde diyor ki: 'Ermeni yazarlarından Arşak Çobanyan Efendi, Haziranın ikinci günü Paris'te vermiş olduğu konferansı, sonradan makale şeklinde yayımlamıştır. 'Ermeni Milletinin Geçmişi, Geleceği ve Sosyal Gelişimi' adını taşıyan bu makalenin on dokuzuncu sayfasındaki satırlar benim geçenlerde Kürtlerin aydın gençlerine bir iki satır içinde ettiğim serzenişin ne kadar haklı olduğunu gösterdiği için onları buraya tercüme ederek aktarıyorum.' Çobanyan Efendi Diyor ki: 'Islahatlar yapılmaya başlandığı anda Ermenilerin ilk isteyecekleri şey Kürtler için okullar açılmasıdır. Hıristiyanlar hakkında kin ve Aşağılamayı öğreten taassup ocağı o okulların gerçek eğitim merkezlerine dönüştürülmesidir. Ksenefon'un gördüğü gibi kalmış olan Kürtlerin bir okula bile sahip olmamaları işitilmiş şey değildir(!). Türklere gelince: Doğu Anadolu (Diyarbakır, Harput, Bitlis, Van, Erzurum) illerinde topu topu yüz elli okulları vardır ki on yedi bin öğrenciyi barındırır. Ermenilerin o illerde yedi yüzden fazla okulları vardır. Öğrencisi hemen hemen tümüyle Ermeni olan Katolik ve Protestan yabancı misyoner okulları da eklenirse bunların sayısı yedi yüz seksen beş ve içlerindeki öğrenci sayısı da seksen iki bine ulaşır. Fakat Çobanyan Efendi'nin dediği gibi ıslahatlar esnasında Ermeniler Kürtler için okul kurulmasını isteyecek olurlar ise bu pek garip ve garipliği oranında da pek dikkate değer olur, çünkü bu aklın, mantığın kabul edemeyeceği bir şeydir. (…) Yapılacak ıslahatlar sırf Ermeniler için midir ki hakkımızda benzeri görülmemiş bir iyilik severlik gösterilmektedir. Yoksa planlanan ıslahatlar Kürtler için bir hak ve ilgi tanımıyor mu ki böyle bir söz söylenebiliyor? (…) Kürtlerin, 'Ksenefon' un gördüğü gibi kaldığı ve bir okula bile sahip olmadığı sözü pek açık bir iftiradır, yalanlamaya bile değmez. (…) İşte görüyorsunuz, işte işitiyorsunuz Ermeni milletini kim okutuyor. Onları okutan Maarif Nezareti değil, o milletin içinden çıkan gayretli insanlardır. Siz onlar kadar yapmayın da onların onda biri kadar yapın, o da şükrana değer olur.' *Hetawî Kurd*, second issue, p. 10-13. On the other hand, Abdurrahman Bedirkhan had written in the seventh issue of Kurdistan, Kurdish people are the same, did not change troughouth tounsands years! Bozarslan, *Kurdistan*, 1991.p. 198

to the state's thus we learn about the attitude against Armenians from the letters that were sent to Istanbul from the countryside of the empire.

We will now focus on two letters, which was a different part of the journal known as Letter of Kurdistan; one of them was published in the first issue and other in the tenth issue. The letters were giving significant information regarding the Kurdish-Armenian relationship in the countryside of the empire. For instance, in the first issue a letter came from Malatya and the letter included a lot of important knowledge about language, economy, social life, and everyday life of the many matters of the two societies:

> Kurdish factor is more qualified in all areas of trade and industry except for a few pharmacists which are Armenian. Malatya, which has 15-16 thousand households, has just one thousand Armenian households. The number does not reach that rate in the districts. The water problem is the biggest matter concerning health in the city. Malatya has the water that a modern city needs. Unfortunately as the water flows through the watercourses, it can easily spread a variety of epidemic illnesses such as typhoid, cholera etc. I have heard and been glad that city residents have taken necessary precautions to overcome the problem. 1st August 1329.[210]

Another letter also came from Siverek that was written by the member of the Têrkan tribe /Cendu and it too provided substantial information regarding Siverek which had nearly thirty thousand households of which four hundred of them were Armenians and twenty of them were Jews; he had added the ratio of two other societies and according to Cendu, the main language was Kurdish in that district:

[210] Hetawî Kurd, Kürdistan Mektupları, 1st issue, p. 13-15

> Siverek starboard which is an exact Kurdish city is located in the middle of Diyarbakir and Urfa. There are almostly thirty thousand households four hundred of which are Armenian and almostly twenty of which are Jews. The language spoken is Kurdish. The large part of Muslims is Zaza and left ones are Kurmancî. Forging, hand-printed head scarve selling and carpentry are just made by Armenian and other biggest commercial affairs are done by Kurds. Kurds and Armenian get on well with each other. They have a mature relationship and brotherhood. Therefore the news about that 'there is conflict between Kurds and Armenian in Kurdistan' which are written in newspapers make no sense for those living here.[211]

Perhaps, these letters were written with encouragement by the local authorities and from the intellectuals in Istanbul because they wanted to show that the relationship between the two groups of people was fine. Another reason could be to point out the domination in numbers of the Kurds against the Armenians and probably to send the message to the great powers about life in the problematic region because during that period, Kurdish intellectual/people wanted to be included in the continuing process of reform regarding the Armenians and within this the course of events. In other words the CUP considered the reforms only for Armenians and hence these conditions annoyed Kurdish intellectuals and local Kurdish authority, consequently they argued that the reforms should be also for Kurdish people. The conflicts arose between Kurds and CUP branch in Kurdistan, therefore the Kurdish community's

[211] "Tam bir Kürt ili olan Siverek Sancağı, Diyarbakır'la Urfa'nın tam ortasında bulunur. Otuz bin kadar hane vardır ki, bunlardan dört yüzü Ermeni ve yirmi kadarı da Musevi'dir. Konuşulan dil Kürtçedir. Müslümanların çoğu Zazalardan geri kalanı ise Kurmanclardan oluşur. Demircilik, yemenicilik, marangozluk Ermeni'lerle sınırlı ise de diğer en önemli ticaretler Kürtlerin elindedir. Kürtler ve Ermeni'ler birbirine iyi davranırlar. İlişkilerinde olgun bir dostluk vardır. Buraya gelen gazetelerde "Kürdistan'da Kürtlerle Ermeniler arasında geçimsizlik var" diye yazan haberler buradakilere boş bir efsane gibi geliyor." Hetawî Kurd, Kürdistan Mektupları, 10th issue, p. 4-7

branch was closed by the state in order to end this conflict[212] therefore Kurdish intellectuals and member of the tribes were bringing up the questions in the Kurdish newspapers.

[212] Aydoğan, Erdal, *İttihat ve Terakki'nin Doğu Politikası 1908-1918*, 1. ed (İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, 2005). p. 158-163

CONCLUSION

We examined the approaches of Kurdish intellectuals regarding the Armenian Question and Armenian-Kurdish relations through five publications (two newspapers, two journals, and one pamphlet). Many questions and discrepancies between the two communities were discussed in this thesis. When we take into account all of these, we can summarize the Kurdish intellectuals' approach to Armenians in a few statements.

First, we could not claim that Kurdish identity was unified in that period among the intellectuals who could not agree on the same definition of identity including Kurdish identity. In the first chapter, I attempted to analyze this matter of having multiple collective identities, which led them to make publications about Kurdishness, Islam and Ottomanness. However, they usually wrote about the problems and concerns of Kurdish society because of their inner ties to the idea of Kurdishness. The intellectuals argue these identities in their publications. On the other hand, besides these three identities, tribalism also took part much to the concern of the Kurdish intellectuals. Some of the intellectuals discussed the collaboration between the state and Kurdish tribes and the establishment of the Hamidian regiments in terms of tribalism, which existed as a new identity among the Kurdish society in the late Ottoman Empire.

Second, as I mentioned before in the chapter of historical background (the Hamidian era to WWI), the political agenda of the Kurdish community was determined by the Ottoman State after the destruction of the emirate system. Kurdish intellectual groups and the tribal system played little role to create a political agenda to defend the rights of the Kurds because they did not have a homogeneous group in terms of their approach towards the Kurdish identity and particularly towards a Kurdish national consciousness. For instance, İsmail Hakkı Babanzade

said ‘first religious identity (Islam), then Kurdishness!’ The establishment of the tribal regime after the end of emirates led to a lack of authority in Kurdistan. So, the politics of Kurdish society (except the Hamidian regiments) regarding the attacks of the Ottoman State and the Armenian question were not clear. Thus, they did not find a solution for the Armenian Question and/or ‘agrarian question’. On the other hand, many intellectuals tried to establish an alliance with Armenians but there was no unity on this issue in the Kurdish press in the Late Ottoman Empire.

Third, the rise of Armenian nationalism during that period strengthened Kurdishness and Kurdish identity among the intellectuals; the ‘other’ of the proto-Kurdish nationalism was Armenian nationalism or Armenians, which is the most important ‘other’ among many ‘others’ (Russia, Sultan, non-Muslims, West Countries…). However, the Ottoman State and Turkish nationalism as the ‘other’ of proto-Kurdish nationalism became most important in the later period. Proto-Kurdish nationalism mostly emerged as a reaction to Armenian nationalism. The attitude and interest of the great powers in the Armenian Question led the Kurdish society, especially intellectuals, to oppose the Armenians. Namely, the proto-Kurdish nationalism began to oppose the demands and rights of Armenians instead of the policies of the Ottoman Empire. Sharing the same territory was the main reason of the conflict between the two communities.

Fourth, according to the Kurdish intellectuals, the establishment of an Armenia with the help of the western states necessitated the absence of Kurdistan; also, the intellectuals were not only opposed to the establishment of Armenia, but also, the influence of Islam was an important factor among the group. However, there was a different attitude among the intellectuals in the Kurdish publications regarding Kurdistan and those living outside of

Kurdistan. Many writers lived outside Kurdistan, especially in Istanbul and this affected their ideas toward the political and social conditions of Kurdistan. For instance, Abdurrahman Bedirkhan wrote brave and radical essays in the *Kurdistan* newspaper about the question, but he did not know well the conditions of the region. On the other hand, the intellectuals in Istanbul and some letters which came from Kurdistan were more cautious than Abdurrahman Bedirkhan' approach regarding the Hamidian regiments.

Fifth, almost all Kurdish intellectuals condemned the Armenian slaughters and reprimanded Kurdish society for their role in the massacre. According to the intellectuals, the main person responsible for this massacre was Abdulhamid II, and Kurds should not have been deceived by the political games of the sultan. However, Kurdish intellectuals were annoyed by the discourse of the Armenian intellectuals, the church in Europe and the center of the empire that defined Kurds as wild, slaughterers and uncivilized people. Therefore, the establishment of the Kurdish identity as a dualistic structure was formed against Armenia(ns); both to condemn the massacre and also reject the anti-Kurdish propaganda that portrayed them as uncivilized and ignorant. Thus a resistance and opposition against this denial of Kurds by Armenians emerged among the Kurdish intellectuals and the Kurdish people. As used by Abbas Vali, these terms have two main points that formed the Kurdish identity. One side was the empire; the other side was the Armenians.

Sixth, the modernization and development of the Armenians' education system was a significant example for the Kurdish intellectuals. The group claimed both Armenians and Kurds had lived together during thousands of years in the same region, but nowadays (late Ottoman era) many Armenian schools were in Kurdistan. Therefore, Kurdish people had better education thanks to the Armenians and their youth because Kurds lagged behind

modern time. According to the Kurdish intellectuals, Kurds had to imitate the Armenians, they should have opened many schools and they needed to implement modern methods of education like the Armenians. In the intellectuals' discourse, there is a pragmatic attitude about the relationship with the Armenians, namely there is a selective adoption.

Seventh, the economic situation of the Armenian people was an example particularly for the intellectuals who compared the Armenian and Kurdish youth in their articles. According to the intellectuals, Armenian youth learned the latest technological systems of agricultural production and returned to their homeland but Kurdish youth still had not done it; they should follow the example of the Armenian youth. The intellectuals defended this idea about Armenian economic position, however many Kurdish tribe members took advantage of this political chaos and they attacked Armenian peasants taking their property and lands which was referred to as the land question after the 1908.

Eighth and finally, we would make some points about the role of the Kurdish society in the Armenian Genocide. Considering the attitude of Kurdish intellectuals towards the Armenian massacres of the Hamidian period, most of them condemned the massacres and criticized the Hamidian regiments. On the other hand, people of all parts of the Kurdish community including tribes, notables and ordinary Kurds took part in the genocide. This difference between the intellectuals and other parts of Kurdish society shows that the idea and approaches of the intellectuals did not reflect the ideas of the whole of Kurdish society. Tribe members, notables and some other ordinary Kurds collaborated with the Unionist government in the genocide. Political, economic and religious motivations played an important part in their participation in the genocide. As a result, we can argue that the Kurdish intellectuals had a little effect on the Kurdish community regarding the Armenian question since despite their

criticism about the Armenian massacre of the Hamidian regime, most parts of Kurdish society continued to participate in the genocide during the First World War.

APPENDICES

Publications, Writers, Articles and Dates

***Kurdistan* Newspaper (1989-1902)**				
Writers: Abdurrahman Bedirkhan			**Prepared by Mehmed Emin Bozarslan**	
	Issue	***Page***	***Title***	***Date (Gregorian calendar)***
Kurdistan	7	198-99	‘Leyse lil insâni illâ mâ seâ’ -A Section of the Koran-	November 1898
‘	8	209	‘We Men Lem Yehkum Bı ma Enzelellahu Fe Ulaike Hum’ul-Fasiqün’ -A Section of the Koran-	November 1898
‘	9	227-228	‘Welat-Weten’ *Country*	December 1898
‘	11	248	‘Helaku Ummeti Min Alimin Facir We Abidin Cahil We Şerr’ul-Eşrari Şirar’ul-Ulema We Xeyr’ul-Xiyari Xiyar’ul-Ulema’ -A Section of the Koran-	February 1899
‘	13	259	‘Kaxidek e Ji Kurdistane Hati’ *A Paper Come from Kurdistan*	April 1899
‘	13	267	‘Bedirxan Beg’	April 1899
‘	14	281	‘Ev Kaxida Ha Ji Ulemak Kurd Ji Mardine Ji Min Re Hat, Eji Hire Derc Dikim’ *This Paper Come to me from a Kurdish Ulema from Mardin, I will Publish it Here*	April 1899
‘	23	417	‘Yaratılış Garipliği’ *Creation of the Strangeness*	February 1900
‘	25	447	‘Kürdlere’ *To Kurds*	October 1900
‘	26	454	‘Kurda Re’ *To Kurds*	January 1901
‘	27	481-484	‘Kürdlere’ To Kurds	March 1901
‘	28	509	‘Olaylar’ *Events*	March 1901
‘	28	506	‘Hamidiye Süvari Alayları’ *Hamidiye Cavalry Regiment*	September 1901
‘	29	525-530	‘Kürdistan’ın Şimdiki ve Gelecekteki Durumu’ *Present and Future State of Kurdistan*	October 1901
‘	31	570	‘Osmanlı Özgürlükçüleri Kongresi’ *Congress of Ottoman Libertarians*	April 1902

Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi / **The Kurdish Solidarity and Progress Newspaper (1908-1909)**				
Prepared by M. Emin Bozarslan				
Writers	***Issue***	***Page***	***Title***	***Date***
Seyyid Abdulkadir	1	51-52	'Cem'iyetimizin Reis-i Fezail'enîsi Seyyid Abdulkadir Ubeydullah Efendi'nin Nümune-i Fikr-ü İrfanı'	December 1908
-	1	63	'Derneğin Bildirisi' The Association's Statement	December 1908
Babanzade İsmail Hakkı	1	69	'Kürdler ve Kürdistan' *Kurds and Kurdistan*	December1908
-	2	127	'Kültür' *Culture*	December 1908
Baban İsmail Hakkı	4	206-208	' Kürdlerin Coğrafi ve Siyasi Konumu' *Geographical and Political Position of Kurdish*	December 1908
M. Tevfik	4	201	'Kürdçe Lisanımız' *Our Kurdish Language*	December1908
-	5	271	'Özel Telgraflar' *Special Telegrams*	January 1909
-	7	359	'Kürdler-Ermeniler' *Kurds-Armenians*	January1909
Hüseyin Paşazade Süleyman	9	461-463	'Kürdler ve Ermeniler' *Kurds and Armenians*	January1909

***Rojî Kurd /* Kurdish Sun (1913)**				
Prepared by Kurdoloji Studies Group/Kürdoloji Çalışmaları Grubu				
Writers	***Issue***	***Page***	***Title***	***Date***
Abdullah Cevdet	1	240-241	'Bir Hitap' *A Speech*	June 1913
Xezal	1	122-124	'Dem[a] Kalê me-Çaxa me-Dema Tê' *Past, Present Future*	June 1913
Abdullah Cevdet	2	140-141	'İttihad Yolu' *Union Way*	July 1913
Babanzade İsmail Hakkı	3	283	'Kürtlerin Yükselmesi' *The Rise of Kurds*	August 1913
Lütfi Fikri	4	300	'Kürt Milliyeti' *Kurdish Nation*	September 1913
Hüseyin Şükri	4	301	'Arazi Meselesi' *Agrarian Question*	September1913

***Hetavî Kurd /* Kurdish Sun**				
Prepared by Kurdoloji Studies Group/Kürdoloji Çalışmaları Grubu				
Writers	***Issue***	***Page***	***Title***	***Date***
'T'	1	8-10	'Kürd Gençlerimizden Bir Temenni' *A wish to our Kurdish Youth*	October 1913
M. X.	1	19-20	'Jî Mazin[ên] Kurdan Ra Ye' *To Kurdish Elders*	October 1913
-	1	13-15	'Kürdistan Mektupları' *Kurdistan Letters*	October 1913
Mevlanzade Rıfat	2	2-3	'Sosyolojik! Muhterem Hetawî Kurd Gazetesi Kurucularına' *Sociological! To Honorable Founders of Hetavî Kurds Newspaper*	November 1913
Kerküklü Necmeddîn	2	10-13	'Kürd 'Ulemâsına' *To Kurd Ulema*	November 1913
-	10	4-7	'Kürdistan Mektupları' *Kurdistan Letters*	July 1914

Kurdistan

رُوپَرَ ١ — سالا عوثلي — عدد ١

كردستان

١٣١٥

حجمي كاغذك ثي ريكه دڤي ريكت مصرى سَرْ ناف خوبي فى جريده يى لاو بدرخان پاشا مقدار مدحت بكى هرجار دُوهزار جريده يا بى پَرَه آزِسے ريكم كردستانى ده بِدِين خاكى پازده روژا جاركي تيت تقيساندن

عنوان
مصرده «كردستان» غزته سي صاحب ومحرري بدرخان پاشا زاده
مِقدار مِدحَتْ
هر طبنده ٢٠٠٠ نسخه كردستان ولات مقامانه ارسال ووساطتلريله قرار قصبانه نشر وتعميم اولنه جقدر

كردستان خارجده هر بر ايچون سنه لك ايچون بدلي ٨٠ غروشدر
كردستان داخلنده خصوصي اعتماملره مجاناً كوندريلور

كردلري ايقاظ وتحصيل صنايعه آشويق ايچون ثمدبلك

اون بش گونده بر نشر اولنور كردجه غزته در

روژا پنجشمبه ده ٣٠ ذوالقعده سنه ١٣١٥ پنجشنبه في ٩ نيسان سنه ١٣١٤

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

صد هزار شكر وحمد ژ خُدى تعالى ره آم مسلمان خلق كِرن. وظاينا علم ومعرفتيره هِش وزكا دامه. دژ حقا طلباندِنا علم ومعرفتيره گلك آيتين جليله واحاديث شريفه هَتِن دنايبده چقاس مسلمان هَبن گُوند وپاژيرين حميادە مكتب ومدرسه وجريده هَتن دنايبده چه دِيه چه نايه جريده دِ نقيسن. حيفامن تيت ژ كرداره كُرد ژ گلك قَوما زيده تر خوي هش وزكانه جابيرن دبنين خوده راست وقَوينه خُورتن وديسا وكه قَوبين دي نه خوَندانه نه دَولمندن دنايبده چه دِيه چيران وان موسقوف چاوه يه وى چه بكه نظانن لَوما ريا خُديده من آف جريده ياها نقيسي ياذنا خُدى تعالى پاش نهو هر پازده روژاده جاركي آزي جريده كي بنقيسم. ناف في من كريه (كردستان) فى جريده يده آزى بجنا قنجيا علم ومعرفتا بكم لِكودَري مروف دِعلمه لِكودرى مدرسه ومكتبن قنج هنه آزي نيشا كردا بكم لكودري چه شر دبه دولتين مَظن چه دكن چاوه شر دِكن تجارت چاوه دِبه ازي حميا حكات بكم حتى نهو كسي جريده كي هولي ننقيسي يه آف جريده يا مناها يا عوثلي يه لوما وي گلك كيابي هبتن. از هيثي دِكم كيايا جريده يي ژمنزه بنقيسن حمي تِشتْ وَكي نو چه دِبن كِمين پاشي هِنكي دِچه دكوَه ريده آقه ايدي آزي دست مقصدى بكم. (ومن الله التوفيق)

حضرت پيغمبر عليه الصلوة والسلام گوتي يه «العلماء ورثة الانبياء» آنكو علما وارثين انبيانه ژ طرفِ خُديده مامورن وعظ ونصيحتى بِدِن خلكى ريا قَنج نيشا وان بِكِن لَوما گلي علماين كردا چاوَه اُون وَعظ ونصيحتا نِميژى دبن ولى دِڤي اُون مير وآغا وكرمانجين دناسن وان تشويقا ظاينا علم ومعرفتى بِكِن ريا قَنج نيشا وان بِكِن هَكي اُون وي نِكِن گُنهى حميا سطُوى وميه

Kürd Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi

کُرد

تعاون وترقی غزته‌سی

۱۳۲٤

جمعیتك ، اسطهٔ نشر افکاریدر

تاریخ تاسیسی ۱۳۲٦ — ۱۳۲٤

نومرو ۱ شمدیلك هفته‌ده بردفعه نشر اولنه‌جق دینی، علمی، سیاسی، ادبی، اجتماعی غزته‌در جلد ۱

استانبول مناظرندن

Rojî Kurd

صاحب امتیاز :
و مدیرمسئول
عبدالکریم

روژکرد

تاریخ تأسیسی :
۱۳۳۱

عدد : ۱

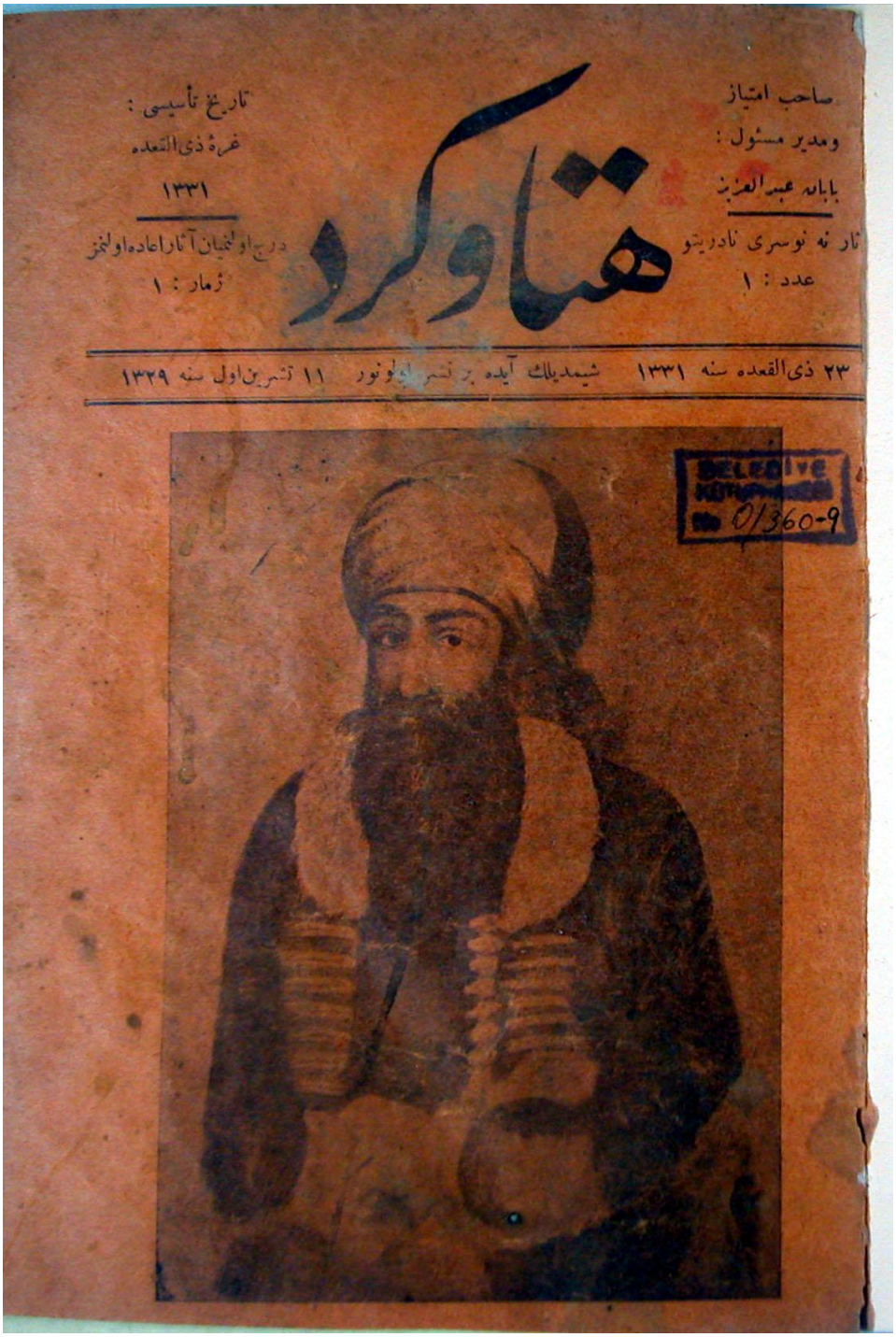
جلد : ۱

۱٤ رجب سنه ۱۳۳۱ — شیمدیلك آیده بر نشر اولنور — ٦ حزیران سنه ۱۳۲۹

صانعه طوغوره ، خارقهٔ حلقت عالم !
بیر سن کیبی فرزند دیکر ، مادر اعصار .

دهاة اکراددن : سلطان صلاح‌الدین ایوبی

Hetawî Kurd



صاحب امتیاز
ومدیر مسئول :
بابانه عبدالعزیز

تاریخ تأسیسی :
غرهٔ ذی القعده
۱۳۳۱

تار نه نوسری نادریتو
عدد : ۱

درج اولنمیان آثار اعاده اولنمز
ژماره : ۱

هتاوکرد

۲۳ ذی القعده سنه ۱۳۳۱ شیمدیلك آیده بر نسخه اولونور ۱۱ تشرین اول سنه ۱۳۲۹

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